

DR. JOHANNES MACCHABÆUS

John MacAlpin

SCOTLAND'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE REFORMATION IN DENMARK

by

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"My Lord, yf ye will burne thame,
except ye follow my counsall, ye
will utterly destroy your selves.
Iff ye will burne thame, lett thame
be brunt in low sellar^{is}; for the
reik of Maister Patrik^e Hammyltoun
hes infected as many as it blew upon".

(Knox, I, 42).

- An intimate advice to
Archbishop Beaton of
St. Andrews after the
Martyrdom of Patrick
Hamilton.

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DR. JOHANNES MACCHABÆUS

John MacAlpin

SCOTLAND'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE REFORMATION IN DENMARK.

INTRODUCTION

When Martin Luther posted his 95 theses on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg in Saxony in 1517, an era was inaugurated which saw the rebirth of vital and personal religion and of nations. "Nothing is so powerful in the world as an idea whose time has come", is the famous dictum of Victor Hugo. Northern Europe was ready for Reformation ideas; and in less than a decade people could be found in practically every country surrounding Germany who were gripped by the surge of newly discovered resources in Christianity. Even a country so remote as Scotland^{saw} a group of heroic pioneers arise to protest against the Old and to contend for the New.

1. The Significance of the international character of the Rom. Cath. Church for the cause of the Reformation.	The significance of the international character of the Roman Catholic Church for this religiously, socially and politically revolutionizing movement cannot be overestimated. Ideas and new points of view had to find means of conveyance. Although the evangelical reformers were without the excellent means of travel, communication and advertising, which people of the
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20th Century have at their disposal, they had other advantages. The Church was international in its establishment. Its dogmas and commonly accepted beliefs, its mode of worship and methods of administration, its orders, regular and secular, its policies and its practices, its training of clergy and other servants, its fellowship - all were of international character with their center in Rome.

The advantages and disadvantages of this are obvious. All that we propose to state is the fact that feelings of discontent, movements of dissent, ideas of reform found ready avenues along which to travel into the various countries, and so did the Reformers themselves, irrespective of nationality, as they spoke the same international language, Latin. The reformed churches in the various countries are therefore mutually indebted.

2. Exiled Scottish Reformers at work for the Reformation in other lands.

As Scotland received impulses for the Reformation in her own land, so she

also, through those of her sons who found no appreciation or place of work at home, made her very significant contribution to the Reformation in other lands. The late Dr. Peter Lorimer, celebrated church historian, paid particular attention to the numerous Protestant exiles who early were driven out of Scotland and assisted with the Reformation in other countries. Says he: "Many of these exiles were men of learning and

ability, they were living links of connexion between the Scottish Reformation and the other protestant churches in Europe, and the important service by which they repaid the hospitality they received, bring out to view the influence which the Reformation in Scotland exerted upon the Reformation in other lands"(1).

Some of the names of these exiled Scottish reformers are: Alexander Seyton and John Willock, great preachers in London, John McDowal, first reformed preacher in Salisbury, later at work in Germany, John Faith or Fidelis, Professor in Theology at the University of Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, John Gaw, who eventually became Chaplain in the Cathedral Church of Copenhagen; and others. But most renowned among them all were yet two Scotsmen abroad. First, Alexander Alesius, Professor in Theology at the University of Leipzig and leader in the German Evangelical Church. It was of him Beza wrote: "A man who was dear to all the learned - who would have been a distinguished ornament of Scotland if that country had received at an earlier period the light of the Gospel - and who, when rejected by Scotland and England, was most eagerly embraced by the evangelical church of Saxony, and continued to be warmly cherished and esteemed by her to the day of his death"(2).

(1) Lorimer, Peter, The Scottish Reformation, Richard Griffin and Company, London and Glasgow, 1860, in Preface.
(2) Ibid., p. 119. Beza's "Icones", portraits of the great theologians of the 16th Century.

The second greatly renowned Scottish Reformer abroad was John MacAlpin, or Johannes Macchabæus, Professor in Theology at the University of Copenhagen from 1542 to 1557. He has gained for himself the indicative phrase among Scottish and English Church Historians, "that famous man, Dr. Macchabæus"; but for obvious lack of information concerning his life and work only very few references, exceedingly limited in content, may be found concerning him. A biography needs yet to be written about each one of those exiled Scottish reformers. That may be a difficult task, as source material has to be gathered from so many lands, but an exceedingly captivating task. Our purpose, and the scope of this treatise, is to investigate into the life and work of one of the foremost among those men, namely John MacAlpin, or Johannes Macchabæus, and his - and thereby Scotland's - contribution to the Reformation in Denmark.

3. Our Study of the
~~Life and work of~~ A Life and Work of Dr. Johannes Macchabæus
~~Dr. Macchabæus.~~

divides itself, so far as the narrative of events is concerned, into two main parts: First, **Before** Dr. Macchabæus's Arrival in Denmark: his life in Scotland and sojourns in England and Germany, the making of the man; and, secondly, Dr. Macchabæus's Work in Denmark: his life and work in, and influence upon, the University and the Church during the Reformation period. This is obviously the more important part of our study. It will be a biographical

study, but also an intensive, detailed account of a decade and a half of Danish Church and University life during the Reformation. It should be understood here that the Reformation, as a legislative act of the Crown, had been decided upon and introduced in Denmark six years before Dr. Macchabæus entered the country. This part of the Reformation, in which Dr. Macchabæus had no share, was the easier one. His contribution was the difficult and laborious task of aiding in the actual establishing of the Reformation as it pertained to the Church and its work, the University and the training of ministers, the schools, the translation and spread of the Bible, and - not the least - the contests with Roman Catholic reactionaries and over-zealous Protestants. Dr. Macchabæus may not be the great dominating personality whose footprints still are seen on the sands of time, but we shall find him to be one who in Denmark patiently tried to build the house which the greater architect of the Protestant Reformation had designed.

A study of Macchabæus's life takes on added interest when one learns that he represented Scotland not only nationally, but also by religious emphases which later proved characteristic of the reformed Scottish church. He became a representative of Crypto-Calvinism in the evangelical Lutheran church in Denmark. This may be the reason that his name hardly has been named in

in connection with accounts of the history of the Danish Lutheran Church; while it is so much more of a reason why his own people and anyone sympathetic with the teachings of Calvin should be eager to learn of him.

A work on Macchabæus's life, furthermore, takes us into the history of the Reformation in Scotland, England, Germany and Denmark. We have attempted to present a picture of the state of the evangelical movement in those lands as it influenced and made its impression upon Macchabæus. The Scottish background for his life and the factors which made for the Reformation in his native land are of an especial interest to Continental students, as they give us an idea of that which already during his youth and early manhood helped to make the strong evangelical spokesman. It is of equal interest to Scottish students of Reformation history to gain a detailed view of the inner state of the Reformation in Denmark during its formative period, which we also have attempted to present.

The gathering of source material for a history of Macchabæus's life and work is rendered somewhat difficult by the fact that it has to be gathered from four lands. Furthermore, most of that which we have left from Macchabæus's own hand and that of his contemporaries has been written in Latin. We may thereto add the fact that Scottish, English, German and Danish sources, if not written in Latin,

have indicated to us that some changes have been effected in the same languages during the 400 years which have passed! That however has made the work also linguistically profitable.

Of the many literary products which have aided us in our work we wish to make mention of one. . It is the late Danish historian Holger Fr. Rørdam's History of the University of Copenhagen. from 1537-1621, and the brief biographical sketches which he has rendered of the men who served the Copenhagen University during that period. It has been invaluable for a study of the inner life and the decisive work of the University during the formative period of the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church.

We commenced our study of "that famous man, Dr. Macchabæus" on practically virgin soil, but if we have succeeded in drawing a picture of yet another one of the great pioneering Scottish Evangelicals and his place among the Continental Reformers, we shall feel that our efforts have not been in vain. A series of Appendixes have been added, which should prove of some interest to students of Macchabæus's life and work.

PART I. BEFORE DR. JOH. MACCHABEUS'S ARRIVAL IN DENMARK.

CHAPTER I.

PRIOR JOHN MacALPIN IN SCOTLAND, ca. 1500-1534.

A. John MacAlpin's birth, name and education. (ca. 1500-1520)

Name and Place of Birth. John MacAlpin⁽¹⁾ was born about 1500. We have no records of the definite time. But the age of his known contemporaries,⁽²⁾ and especially of his wife, who was born in 1503 and died in 1589,⁽³⁾ suggest the beginning of the 16th century. Neither do we know anything definite concerning the place of his birth or childhood. A member of the MacAlpin clan was incorporated on the matriculation roll of St. Leonard's College at St. Andrews in 1519 as from the Nation of Alban,⁽⁴⁾ that is, the region North of the Forth, so perhaps John MacAlpin was brought up in the same part of Scotland. No name of MacAlpin appears on the Registers of the Universities at Glasgow or Aberdeen during this period.

Member of a famous clan. The name and position of his parents are also unknown to us. The family cognomen, MacAlpin, comprises a large clan in Scotland. It is quite possible

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- (1) In our study of Dr. Macchabeus's life in Scotland and England we shall use the Scottish form for his name. On the Continent and in Denmark, the Latin form under which he is known.
- (2) Patrick Hamilton, b. 1504, grad. M.A. at U. of Paris in 1520. Alexander Alesius, b. April 6, 1500, in Edinburgh, entered St. Leonard's 1512, or 1513, Bachelor of Arts in 1515, indicted before Prior Hepburn in 1529, ar. in Wittenberg 1532.
- (3) We gather these dates from the funeral oration for Dr. Macchabeus's wife at the U. of Copenhagen. John Pistorius's Brevbog, Gl. Kgl. Saml. 3074, 4. Cf. Rørdam, Københavns U.'s Hist., Vol. III. p. 359, Nr. 261.
- (4) Early records of the U. of St. Andrews, Scott. Hist. Socy., Third Series, Vol. VIII, Edinburgh 1926, p. 219.

that he was a descendant of the great Kenneth McAlpin, the first Scot to sway the Pictish sceptre, the national hero who "at Scone placed the fateful stone, a symbol of the new scottish nationality", and who "at Dunkeld established Ecclesia Scoticana, the embodiment of the religion of the nation for the next three centuries"⁽¹⁾. He may even have been kindred to the noted chieftain Rodereigh Vich Alpine, who caused such outrage that his whole clan were proclaimed rebels!⁽²⁾. He was, at least, well born,⁽³⁾ a member of an ancient and respected family and a famous clan⁽⁴⁾.

3. Had the best teachers available. The boy John showed from earliest childhood a strong propensity for learning, wherefore, his parents provided him with the best teachers available⁽⁵⁾. At an early age he was destined for the church and the monastery, the way to piety and learning as well as to power and prestige. Dominican monks, the teaching staff of the Roman Catholic church, have (probably) been his instructors. They prepared him for the University, which he probably entered at the age of 16 or 17; so entering at the early age of 15 was not uncommon at that time.

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- (1) McEwen, Alex. R., A History of the Church in Scotland, Vol. I, pp. 113-114.
(2) M'Crie, Thomas, Life of John Knox, pp. 395-396, Note I.
(3) Bale, John, Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brittaniae - etc., Febr. MDLIX, p. 226: "Johannos Machabeus, expreclara quodam Scotoru familia natus ---"
(4) Gerdes, Historia Evang. Renovat., Vol. III, p. 417: "Reliquerat is, qui ex nobili et antiqua Macalpinorum in Scotia familia ortum trahebat ---". Cf. M'Crie, op.cit., p. 396.
(5) Bale, op. cit. p. 226: "- A puerili ætate, ac penè ab incunabulis ipsis, animum erga literas mirè propensum habuit. Hanc in puero indolum, seu future prohibitis effigiem, parentes eius ita exosculati sunt, ut illum eruditis præceptoribus educandum & docendum committerunt".

4. Studied probably at U. of St. Andrews. It has as yet been impossible to find the

name of John MacAlpin, or a similar one, on any university register until his entering the University of Wittenberg in 1540⁽¹⁾ where he, a couple of years later, obtained his degree of Doctor in Theology. Despite the fact that his name appears there with the additional information that he was a Bachelor of Divinity from the University of Cologne, we are at a loss as to the place of his Arts education. We venture to suggest that it was at St. Andrews⁽²⁾, the oldest of the scottish universities, founded in 1411.

A source of surprise and disappointment is it, that the names of several distinguished Scottish personages of the 15th and 16th centuries cannot be found on the university registers of St. Andrews or any other Scottish university. Not even John Knox's name appears anywhere. Theodore Beza is the prime authority for the information that Knox studied under John Major, who arrived in 1523⁽³⁾. The reason for this anomaly is not far to find. The matriculation roll forms a part of the Acta Rectorum, from which it has to be sorted out, and is not contained in a

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- (1) Förstmann, *Liber Decanorum Facultatis Theologiæ*, Leipzig, 1828, p. 32 "Venerabilis vir D. Johannes Macchebeus Scotus, Bacularis Theologia Formatus Coloniensis", Nov. 1540. This is a publication of the Album of the U. of Wittenberg from 1502-1560, edited by Förstmann. Cf. Lorimer, Peter, *Precursors of Knox*. Vol. I, Patrick Hamilton, Edinburgh 1857, p. 185 and note K., p. 232.
- (2) See Appendix Nr. III. regarding the place of John MacAlpin's education and when he studied at the U. of Cologne.
- (3) *Early Records of the University of St. Andrews*, transcribed and edited by James Maitland Anderson, Scott. Hist. Socy., Third Series, Edinburgh 1926, Vol. VIII, p. XXXVIII.

separate volume as practice is now. This explains also the fact that names vary a great deal in spelling. They were taken down from the dictate of the owners by the secretary or bursar when the alumni took their oath or paid their fees. It is doubtful a single name can be called a signature⁽¹⁾.

The youth John MacAlpin, early developed, mentally alert, keen of ability, born of parents of means and culture, schooled by Dominican teachers, may probably have been found at St. Andrews from 1516 or 1517 and onwards, and presumably at the newly founded St. Leonard's College, located within the precinct of the Dominican Monastery⁽²⁾. The full curriculum in Arts extended over 4 years, the degree of Bachelor of Arts being obtainable at the end of 2 years, the Master of Arts degree at the end of the 4th year. The curriculum was not extensive. Arts or Philosophy, Canon Law and Divinity were the primary branches of knowledge. In Arts the writings of Aristotle in Latin formed the basis of study. Lectures were comments on his treatises on Logics, Rhetorics, Ethics and Physics⁽³⁾.

John MacAlpin may have had some members of his family, brothers or cousins, at St. Andrews, at least some clanmembers. Two names of MacAlpin appear on the registers.

(1) Ibid., pp, XXVII-XXVIII

(2) Up till 1512 the University had included only two foundations; the Pædagogium, the original institution founded in 1414 by Bishop Wardlaw, and St. Salvator's College, founded by Bishop Kennedy in 1450. St. Leonard's College was founded by Prior John Hepburn in 1512.

(3) M'Crie, Life of Melville, 1855, p. 6. Ref. from Lorimer, op. cit., p. 53.

First, Carolus M'Caupy who in 1507 matriculated in Gollegio, in 1509 appears on the list of determinants (or bachelors) as Mackalpe, and in 1511 is registered among the licentiated (or Masters), this time his name being spelled Karolus Makalpe. The other is Alexander Makcalpy, who is incorporated the first time in 1519, again in the same year as a licentiate secundus actus in Collegio Sancti Leonardi, his name this time spelled Allexander MkKalpy. In 1521 he is registered as M. (Master) Alexander MakCalpyn. We gather also some suggestion as to their economic standing from the University records. Carolus registered in his third year as "dives" and spent five years before he became a Master. He may have spent too much time in society life! Alexander, however, got through in three years, and in his final year he is frank enough to confess that he shares the general condition of most "confreres" in their last year at the University. To his name is added the suggestive word "pauper"⁽¹⁾. We may here, in passing, mention the fact that a David Seyton and, especially, Alexander Seyton appear on the register in 1516. The latter shared the same fate as John MacAlpin, of having to go into exile for the sake of his reformed faith.

There was ample opportunity for John MacAlpin at St. Andrews to ^{become} acquainted with the order of which he later was to become a frater and prior. The city had

(1) Early Records of the University of St. Andrews, op. cit., pp. 96, 99, 109, 111, 201, 215.

both a Dominican and a Fransiscan Monastery, the former especially being on good terms with the university. If John MacAlpin had joined the Dominicans as a novice at an early age, we might have had the reason for the absence of his name on the University registers, as the Black Friars were prevented by their own rules from graduating in Arts⁽¹⁾. We cannot, however, believe that to have been the case. John MacAlpin was a man trained for a University Chair, his linguistic ability, his *clear* ~~in~~ thinking and striking argumentation, his scholarly methods, which we later discover, give evidence of a splendid academical training. He would hardly have been elected Prior at such an early age had not his academical standing been kept. There is no doubt that Bale is right, when he says that John MacAlpin was given the best of teachers by his parents and obtained the best of University training then available in Scotland.

5. Significance of
his stay at St.
Andrews.

What would be the significance of his stay
at this most ancient institution of learn-

ing in Scotland? Primarily that he received impulses to quicken his fearless spirit of adventuring into new fields and experiences of religion. Somewhere he must have become acquainted with the revival of learning as advanced by Erasmus at the University of Paris. The influence of Hector Boyce for classical tastes and learning at the University of Aberdeen, the first institution in Scotland

(1) Ibid, pp. XXVII-XXVIII XXX

to give room for the humanitarian spirit, cannot have been unnoticed by students. The only ones disposed to the same at St. Andrews were George Lockhardt, Professor in Theology and rector in 1521, 1522 and 1523, and John Major who arrived in 1523. But none of them were reformers, and Major's name appears frequently on the tribunals which doomed reformers to exile and death. The real change came with Gavin Logie, Principal of St. Leonard's from 1523, - and Patrick Hamilton, who was incorporated the same year. Logie was a man of open mind, progressive thought and strong convictions. St. Leonard's was sympathetic towards whatever new life was to be found and became a vital organ for its development and training. The Prior of the Augustinian^{monastery}/opened its doors for the entrance of new ideas, and the younger canons, some of whom probably had been fellow-students of John MacAlpin, were devoted to the interests of religion and learning. Among them were already John Wynram, John Duncason and Alexander Alane, or Alesius, later well known among the Reformers⁽¹⁾. We believe that, even if John MacAlpin may not have stayed at St. Andrews as late as 1523 and after, under Gavin Logie, he most assuredly, though at the monastery at Perth, continued in fellowship with his friends now residing at the Priory at St. Andrews, breathing in the new ideas and life at St. Leonard's. Little did these friends know that some of them later

(1) Lorimer, op. cit., pp. 54-55

should suffer dangers of persecution and exile and find fellowship with the continental Reformers, and their real life-work in a foreign land. When John MacAlpin ~~had finished~~ his academic course he joined the Dominican order and Monastery at Perth.

B. At the Dominican Monastery at Perth, elected Prior.
(ca. 1520-1534/35)

1. Joins the Dominican Order. ca. 1520.

It was at the Dominican Monastery at

Perth that John MacAlpin received his

most valuable training in the studies of Divinity, was offered the rich opportunity of contemplation for personal piety, saw the most renowned order within the Roman Catholic Church from the inside, and came into intimate touch with the religious situation of his day. The definite time of his entering we do not know. But it was probably in 1520 or 1521, as suggested before.

2. The fame of the Dominican Monastery at Perth.

When John MacAlpin entered the monastery

at Perth, donned the white tunic, the

black mantle and the white scapular and a leather girdle with a rosary attached to it, he joined an ancient institution and charter house whose fame in Scottish history is well known. The Dominican Order, founded in 1215 in Old Castile, had been introduced into Scotland by King Alexander II, who established eight houses within his domains in the years 1230-1234, among them that at

Perth whose history dated back to 1231 and was to continue for 328 years⁽¹⁾. When King Robert Bruce in 1312 captured Perth he chose the Dominican Monastery as the accustomed residence of royalty and became the patron of the Black Friars there. Many national councils were held here until the dreadful murder of King James I by a band led by Sir Robert Graham on the night between February 20-21 of 1436/37⁽²⁾. King James had visited the Monastery several times, but from now on the royal residence was removed to the Castle of Edinburgh. Though the chance at Perth of counselling the Royalty of Scotland had been gone for almost a century, John MacAlpin lived in a house of royal traditions, and in another score of years he was to become advisor to the king in another land than his own on great religious issues.

3. The Order and its rules. In this our study of the influences which

made the man it is inevitable that attention must be paid to the religious order of which he was a member during the real formative period of his life and for 14-15 years.

"The salvation of souls", said Lacordaire, a brilliant member of the Dominican Order a couple of generations ago, "is the chief object; instruction the chief means"⁽³⁾. And this is not to be doubted from the

(1) Milne, Robert, The Blackfriars at Perth, Chartulary and Papers of their House, David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1893, pp. XVI and ff.

(2) Fittis, Robert Scott, Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth, to the Period of the Reformation, James Gemwell, Edinburgh, and S. Cowan, Perth, 1885, pp. 151, 185 and ff.

(3) Lacordaire, Vie^{de} Sainte Dominique, p. 38, cf. Milne, op. cit., p. XV.

Roman Catholic point of view. The motto of the Dominicans was Veritas. They were to preach the Word, therefore also called Friars Preachers, or Predicants, to say prayers for the dead once a week, the Office of the Dead, and, especially, to drive away "all false doctrine, heresy and schism", the exercise of which has to many people made Dominican and Inquisitor convertible terms (1). But it is interesting to note that later, when John MacAlpin had become Dr. Macchabæus, he is both preacher and teacher and trained for dispute with those of other views.

Here John MacAlpin received the most thorough training in the subjects of Divinity. A year of novitiate was imposed upon the newcomers in the monastery. This was to be followed by nine years of philosophical and theological study to fit men worthily to occupy places in the church or chairs in the universities (2). The brethren were not to hold possessions or to receive revenues, and should renounce what they had. The Brotherhoods, however, were permitted to receive and hold property in common. And the Monastery at Perth was rich in endowments.

4. The reformation among the Dominicans, also at Perth.

It is also of special significance to us to know the degree of spiritual life

(1) Milne, op. cit., p. XIV-XV.

(2) Ibid., pp. XV-XVI. The idea behind this thorough education is well expressed by a former Master General of the Order: "Those who unite sanctity with the light of science are preferable to those who offer sanctity only". Quoted from Humbert de Ronan, Hist. of St. Dominic, p. 321, in Ibid., p. XVI.

which prevailed at the monastery, while John MacAlpin was there. And here we are not left without records. One wonders why, among the religious orders, it primarily was the Dominicans, who became reformers in Scotland, but the cause and explanation are not far to find. During the first quarter of the 16th century a movement for reformation of life and manners within the Order had been initiated by the Provincial Prior, John Adamson, a learned man, honored with the Doctorate in Theology by the Marischall College of Aberdeen. Prior Adamson had studied anew the Institutes of his Order and had been gripped by the ideals of St. Dominic there expressed. And now he sought to bring back the Friars to the original simplicity, poverty and abstinence, inculcated by the Founder. His labour was not in vain. Greater zeal and deeper piety invaded the ranks of the Black Friars, and they attracted a good deal of public attention on this account.

This reformation within the Predicants' Order, the significance of which should not be overlooked in the history of reform in Scotland, reached also the Monastery at Perth in no small degree. The public attested this fact, which is alluded to in an important and curious charter granted to the Brotherhood in 1525. A countess Elisabeth Grey's husband, Alexander, third Earl of Huntley, had died and had been buried in the choir of the Monastery Church. The countess, his widow, made

them a grant of lands for the repose of the soul of her late husband and her own. In the opening of the charter, dated 1525, she refers in no indefinite words to the reformation, which had been introduced among the Dominicans, in the following words:

"and because among the several societies in the Kingdom of Scotland, who receive in common any property, such as lands and annual rents, the Predicant Friars are poor, promoters of religion, conforming to the Institutes of their spiritual fathers, reformed, abstaining, agreeable to their own constitution and those of their Fathers, from all kinds of flesh, so that in life and doctrine they are an excellent pattern to the people, I have chosen that they chiefly shall perform the foresaid prayers and divine obsequies "(1)

There is no doubt that the reformation among the Dominicans was a sincere attempt to mend the ways of the past and to meet the Reformation ideas from the Continent on their own ground. It is suggestive for us to know, that it was into such an atmosphere that John MacAlpin went, the like of which was experienced at the Priory of the Augustinians at St. Andrews and in St. Leonard's College. He approved of it. He had seen sufficient need of it both in the church at large as well as within the orders. He is in tune with the new ideas and reforms, but desires, of course, to see them realized within the Church of his Fathers, to whose service he had consecrated his life.

(1) Cf. Fittis, op. cit., pp. 183-184.

5. Significance of John MacAlpin's election to Prior. In fact, John MacAlpin had proved a true representative of the best in the Domini-

can ideals and so much of a leader in seeking the welfare of the church, that his brethren in 1530⁽¹⁾, almost as soon as his novitiate and long period of preparation was over, elected him Prior without first making him subprior. This leaves us not in doubt either that John MacAlpin was a supporter of reform in mode of life and in the affairs of the church and clergy, but - in spite of Patrick Hamilton's brave preaching and martyrdom in 1528 and Alexander Alesius' flight for reformed opinions' sake in 1529 - he *had not yet seen* the very foundation stone of the Protestant Reformation: Justification by Faith alone, and in his blindness he tries to satisfy his awakened conscience by yet greater loyalty to the Church and a more strenuous conformity to the ideals and interests of his Order. His brethren take notice of this. Other officials in the Order and the Church were pleased with it. And John MacAlpin was honored with the Priorship four years in succession till 1534. Then came a sudden change, and he sought safety for his life in England as a Protestant refugee. What had furthered the progress of Reformation ideas in Scotland, and what had happened in the religious thought and life of John MacAlpin? We shall see.

(1) See Appendix Nr.I. regarding the time of John MacAlpin's Priorship.

C. Reformation Influences at work in Scotland.

1. Lutheran tracts Powerful agencies for the Reformation had
in the country been at work for some years, when John
from 1525.

MacAlpin finally in 1534 joined the ranks of the reformers. The year 1525 may very well be called the year of the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland. The writings of the Reformers at Wittenberg had made their way into the country. Scottish traders and shippers had obtained them in the seaports of North Germany, the Netherlands and Flanders, and the seaports of Montrose, Dundee, Perth, St. Andrews, and Leith saw the tracts in circulation. The exposed errors and abuses of the Church were becoming the topics of discussion of the educated and the tradesmen of the communities. The Bishops took note and saw the obvious consequences of this flooding with tracts of reform. In July 1525 the following Act was passed in Parliament in Edinburgh, by which it was ordained:

" - that no manner of persons, strangers, that happen to arrive with the ships within any part of this realm, shall bring with them any book or works of Luther or his disciples, or shall dispute or rehearse his heresies or opinions, unless it be to the confusion thereof, under the pain of escheating their ships and goods and putting their persons in prison. And that this Act be published and proclaimed throughout this realm, at all parts and burghs of the same; so that they may allege no ignorance thereof".(1)

(1) Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, subanno 1525. Cf. Lorimer, pp. 67-68.

This Act was made to include "others" also, beside "strangers", in a publication a month later, Aug. 7, 1525, when Bishop Dunbar of Aberdeen obtained the King's permission to send an order and warrant to the sheriffs of the city and county of Aberdeen for the enforcement of the Act of Parliament mentioned above. Two years later, in 1527, the Lords of the Council introduced yet an additional clause: "- that all others the King's lieges, assisters to such opinions, be punished in a similar way and the effect of the said Act to strike upon them"⁽¹⁾. The cause and explanation of the background for this Act and its additions are too obvious to need comment. The tracts were doing their work, even among the highest classes, from 1525 and onwards. In fact, the places where they evoked greatest interest were at the University of Aberdeen, where Hector Boece was Professor, at St. Andrews, where - as Lorimer strikingly puts it - "Luther and Tyndale were at the Primate's Castle-Gate",⁽²⁾ especially at St. Leonard's, and at Perth, with its Dominican Monastery. They gave John MacAlpin food for thought and topics for meditation.

2. Patrick Hamilton's Another dynamic influence for the
teaching, preaching
and martyrdom, 1523-1528. Reformation in Scotland was Pat-
rick Hamilton. He was born in 1504 of noble *parentage*,

(1) Lorimer, op. cit., pp. 67-69.

(2) " , The Scottish Reformation, op.cit., p. 5.

closely related to Royalty. He entered the University of Paris from which he received his Master of Arts degree in 1520. During his first year there he had the opportunity of hearing John Major, the famous scholastic, who, after a period at the University of Glasgow, arrived at St. Andrews in 1523. When Patrick Hamilton *had finished* studying at Paris, he proceeded to Louvain to study under Erasmus. In 1523 he was incorporated at St. Andrew's, next year he was received into the faculty and obtained recognition as Master of Arts, and, so far as we know, taught there for the ensuing three years.

But in 1527 Patrick Hamilton was summoned to appear before Archbishop Beaton of St. Andrews, who had found him "infamed with heresy, disputing, holding, and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther and his followers, repugnant to the faith". It was apparently necessary to try to stop this youth of noble birth, influential connections and brilliant ability. Patrick Hamilton did not obey the summons, but fled⁽¹⁾. He went to Wittenberg, thereby definitely and openly lining up with the Reformation. From there he proceeded to Marburg, where his name appears among the first to be matriculated at the newly founded university, of whose theological faculty Francis Lambert was *Dean*.

(1) Herkless, John and Hannay, Rob. Kerr, The Archbishops of St. Andrews, William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, MCMX, Vol. III. pp. 175-176.

Here Patrick Hamilton was the first man to set forth a series of theses to be publicly defended, which later were published under the name of Patrick's Places⁽¹⁾. From these theses we gather the true evangelical spirit of these early Reformers. No special peculiarities characterize them, of Lutheran or Helvetic confessions, but simple faith in Jesus Christ for salvation, and reformation of the Church on that foundation alone⁽²⁾.

After six months' stay in Germany, Hamilton felt obliged to return to preach in his own country, despite the warnings of Francis Lambert. He was not just a teacher of protestant views and theories, he was - like the Reformers - an aggressive evangelist, a hero, and a martyr if need be. A mastering passion for Reformation in his native land drove him back. He had caught the spirit which Lambert himself had exemplified in the Reformation in Hesse, which he led under the motto: "All that is deformed ought to be reformed"⁽³⁾.

On his return to Scotland, Patrick Hamilton had the joy to see his own sister and brother at the family mansion at Kincavel join him in his persuasions. He preached for a while here and in the surrounding country, and soon, although a priest and abbot, he married a young lady of noble rank and threw off the hypocrisy which he felt the vow of celibacy in the Roman Church to be. But

(1) Patrick's Places, translated by John Frith, printed in Knox Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, edit. by Laing, Edinburgh, 1846-64, Vol. I. pp. 19ff.
(2) Lorimer, The Scott. Ref., pp. 9-12ff.
(3) Herkless and Hannay, op. cit., Vol. III. p. 177.

in the beginning of 1528 the Archbishop sent for him, desiring a conference with him on such points of the Church's condition and administration as might seem in need of reform. Hamilton was not deceived by the Archbishop's cunning manner of procedure. He went, however, to St. Andrews, and the conference with the Archbishop and other leading clergy lasted several days. They appeared as if they agreed with him on several points and gave him liberty to preach in the city and at the University. Thus he spent a month. At St. Andrews he met with the influential classes, regents and students, doctors and lawyers, deans and canons, seculars and regulars, Augustinians, Dominicans and Franciscans. A real Protestant Reformer had appeared among them. His work pioneered the Reformation in Scotland.

When the month was over the Primate summoned Patrick Hamilton again, this time definitely to answer to charges of holding and teaching heretical opinions. Friends advised Hamilton to escape, but he declined to do so, and appeared at St. Andrews. Thirteen charges were laid against him. "Seven", he said, "were undoubtedly true, to which he was prepared to set his hand". We give them here as a suggestive picture of the ideas of the reformers at this time:

1. That the corruption of sin remains in children after their baptism.
2. That no man, by the power of his free will, can do anything good.
3. That no man is without sin so long as he liveth.

4. That every true Christian may know himself to be in a state of grace.
5. That a man is not justified by works, but by faith alone.
6. That good works make not a good man, but that a good man doeth good works, and that an ill man doeth ill works; yet the same ill works truly repented make not an ill man.
7. That faith, hope and charity, are so linked together, that he who hath one of them, hath all, and that he who lacketh one, lacketh all (1).

Patrick Hamilton was allowed liberty for a few days until taken to the Castle at St. Andrews. On February 29, 1528 he appeared before a tribunal of prelates, abbots, priors, and doctors in the Cathedral. The theologians presented the censure of the articles to the tribunal, "judging them all heretical and contrary to the faith of the Church". The story of Hamilton's courageous and unwavering testimony before this august assembly is moving. Alexander Alesius was present, and is the principal narrator of the scene. In a couple of hours the stake was fixed in front of the gate of St. Salvator's College. Renewed attempts of the prosecutors to make Hamilton recant were in vain. "I will not deny it for the awe of your fire, for my confession and belief is in Christ Jesus", he said. The execution was a horrible spectacle, and lasted for five to six hours. But Patrick Hamilton's faith and testimony continued unwaveringly till the end. His last words have been recorded to be: "How long, Lord, shall darkness overwhelm this Kingdom? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny

(1) Cf. Lorimer, The Scott. Ref. pp. 13-14.

of men? Lord Jesus, receive my spirit".⁽¹⁾

The influence of Patrick Hamilton as a teacher and a preacher was great, but far greater when he burned as a martyr. The ideas of the Reformation were from now on removed from the realm of merely academic disputes in lecture halls to the realm of life-issues. Patrick Hamilton was the embodiment of a new type of religion. No wonder Archbishop Beaton was advised: "My lord, if you will burn them, except you follow my counsel, you will utterly destroy yourself. If you will burn them, let them be burnt in low cellars, for the smoke of Master Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it blew upon"⁽²⁾, and his religious views and example had infected a good number more. In another year Alexander Alesius, probably a friend of John MacAlpin, was the next to leave his country for the sake of reformed views. The written word had made its way from Wittenberg into Scotland. Its impact and power had been evident in a living Scottish personage of high rank and position. A stream of converts make their way from Scotland to Wittenberg and the Continent.

3. Sir David Lindsay's poetic Satires, 1528-1531.

Just as the continental Reformation received support from Ulrich von

Hutton and Hans Sachs, satirists and dramatists, so the

(1) Ibid., pp. 15-16.

(2) Knox, John, Works of, Vol. I, p. 42.

new movement in Scotland was aided greatly through the poetic satires of Sir David Lindsay, especially in the years of 1528-1531. He wrote in the vernacular. Lindsay was born in 1495, thus of the same youthful generation as the reformers, and was from his seventeenth year Gentleman Usher to the Prince, later James V, till 1529. At the court he secured an intimate knowledge of affairs of State and Church and the affection of the young king. This should serve him greatly in his zeal for reform.

Already in 1528 Sir David Lindsay, 32 years old, wrote a poem to the King: "The Dreame, or Marvellous Vision". In this poem Dame Remembrance gives him a vision of hell and its population, which proves to be the churchmen of all ranks and orders. He is baffled by this unexpected discovery, but Dame Remembrance explains the cause for the punishment of the prelates:

"She said the cause of their unhappy chance
was covetyce and lust, and ambition:
The whilk now gars§ them want fruition §compels
Of God - and here eternally mon§ dwell §Must
Into this painful, poisoned pit of hell.

Als, they did nocht instruct the ignorant,
Provoking them to penitence by preaching,
But servit warldly princes, insolent,
And were promoted by their feigned fleeching§ §flattery
By simony was their promotion
Mair for deneirs§, nor for devotion. §money

Ane another cause of the punition
Of their unhappy prelates, imprudent;
They made nocht equal distribution
Of holy kirk-is patrimony and rent,
But temporally§ they have it all misspent, §on
Which should have been triparted into three, worldly
First to uphold the kirk in honesty; subjects

The second part to sustain their estates§ §office and
 The third part to be given to the puris. portion
 But they disponded that geir all other gait§, §ways
 On cards and dice, on harloty and huris-
 Their catives took na compt of their own curis;
 Their kirk-is revin, their ladies cleanly cled,
 And richly rultit, baith at buird and bed.

Their bastard bairn-is proudly they provided,
 The kirk geir largely they did on them spend;
 In their defaults, their subsidits§ were misguided§§
 And compted nocht their God for till offend;
 Whilk gart them want grace at their latter end".(1)

§those placed under
 their charge.
 §§Misused or neglected

Lindsay was in earnest for religious reform and tried in this dreadfully realistic poem and satire to bring the situation before the King.

In 1529 the next contribution appeared from Lindsay's pen: "The Complaint"(2) to the King. First he complains about the fact that he, without any substantial remuneration, had lost his position at Court, next follows the primary complaint, to the effect that the abuses of the Church have not yet been corrected. Lindsay's unique position with the King from the latter's infancy through childhood into youth, gave him the opportunity to speak so definitely to the young monarch. But the cardinal contribution, which Lindsay rendered, came in 1530 to the public in: "The Complaint of the Papingo, the Testament and Complaint of our Sovereign Lord's Papingo, which lies sore wounded, and may nocht

(1) The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay, edited by David Laing, 3 Vols., Will. Paterson, Edinburgh, MDCCCLXXIX, Vol. I, pp. 1-40.
 (2) Ibid., pp. 41-44.

die till every man have heard what she says; therefore gentle readers, haste you, that she were out of pain".⁽¹⁾

The Papingo is the King's parrot. As a royal favorite it is fond of climbing. This became its fatal downfall - from the top of a tall tree. It fell, "upon a stump she lichter, on her breast, the blud rushed out, and she cried for a priest". And then follows the last significant discourse of the dying parrot. First, an "Epistle to our Sovereign King James the Fifth". Then an epistle to "her brethren at the Court" not to commit the blunder which sealed her own fate. And, lastly, she is "communing with her holy executors", the pye, to suggest the canon regular of St. Augustine, the raven, suggestive of the black monk, benedictine or dominican, and the gled (or kite), playing the part of a Fransiscan friar. This part of the poem is a *suggestive* picture of the hypocrisy to be found among some of the houses of the religious orders of the day, their cunning and greed. Here Lindsay traces directly the corruptions and disorders of the Church, and the picture ends dramatically. When at last the strength of the papingo gives way, she tells the "holy executors", pye, raven and gled, that for want of better men, she consents to make them executors. She makes her testimony, and dies. But no sooner has she breathed her last before the quarrel over the booty begins. Holy professions, vows of fidelity, her last

(1) Ibid. pp. 45-66.

will, all go for nothing. When the greedy gled will not even allow the king his legacy, the jealous pye and raven appeal to the Pope. But, regardless of any authority, irrespective of Pope, King and Law -

"with haste the gled the piece claucht in his cluke,
and fled his away, the lave with all their might,
To chase the gled, fled all out of my sight"(1).

Such satire did its work in Scotland, not only at Court, among the gentry and laity, but among all thinking people and the religious leaders of the day. John MacAlpin must have read Lindsay's satires, and he has seen their truth and heard their message. When he^{first} makes the acquaintance of Sir David Lindsay we are unable to tell, but he has heartily approved and seen the force of his work as a contribution to reform in Scotland; which is clearly evident from the fact, that when an edition of Lindsay's "Monarchie" was published at St. Andrews, or in Edinburgh, in 1553, it had the following information printed on the title page: "Imprintet at the command and expensis off Doctor Machabeus in Capmanhavin",⁽²⁾

4. The New Testament Another decisive influence to be reckoned
in the Vernacular.

with to further the ideas of the Reformation was the appearance and secret spread of Tyndale's New Testament in the vernacular. From 1526 it began to circulate in the realm. That it had made its way into many homes at this time and had caused the Bishops great

(1) Cf. Lorimer, op.cit., pp. 24-26.

(2) M'Crie, op. cit., pp. 395-396. The Editor of Lindsay, says M'Crie, insists that it is "a deceptive title page". The proof of this assertion has yet to be established.

anxiety, is obvious from the fact that already in 1532 a proclamation was published, which prohibited the sale, possession and use of the Scriptures in the vernacular, and which denounced the censures of the Church on all who dared to violate the prohibition. It seems as if a search for and trial of heretics were going on at the same time.(1)

5. Epistles of
Alexander Alesius.

The primary source of information regarding the publication of the proclamation against the reading of the Scriptures is Alexander Alesius. It is significant for our study to know one of the effects caused by this proclamation, which became another influential factor for the progress of the Reformation in Scotland and surely for John MacAlpin's conversion to Protestantism, namely, that Alexander Alesius, though exiled in Germany, could not refrain from protesting against the tyranny of the bishops in his native land. Alesius was a "posthumous" convert of Patrick Hamilton. He had been chosen, because of his anti-Lutheran reputation, to argue with Hamilton during his trial. Alesius did not, however, silence the Reformer, but gave in to his faith. He refused to sanction the Martyr's death. When he, at the Synod of 1529, delivered the message it was noticeable that he was on the side of the Reformation. He was subsequently imprisoned, but succeeded in

(1) Harkless and Hannay, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 208.

escaping into England.(1)

In 1531 Alesius appeared in Wittenberg. During the ensuing year he not only learned about the fact that his writings in Scotland had been judged heretical, that condemnation had been passed on him in absentia without a hearing, and that he had been degraded from the priesthood and doomed to perpetual banishment from his own country, but also of the ban against the reading of the Scriptures. In 1533 he penned and printed "An Epistle of Alexander Alesius against the decree of the Bishops in Scotland which prohibits the New Testament books to be read in the Vernacular"(2). It was addressed to the Scottish King and pled with him for the freedom of the people to read the Scriptures. Copies of the pamphlet were spread in Scotland. Surely John MacAlpin read this Epistle of his friend abroad and secretly chose the same position.

But, fortunately, Alexander Alesius had to write yet another epistle, in which he gives us the narrative of his own experiences and sets forth his views. John Cochläus, the well known opponent of the Reformers at Wittenberg, an ardent defender of the Roman Catholic Church, had published an answer to Alesius's epistle in which he suggests him merely to be a man of straw for the

(1) Ibid., p. 196.

(2) "Alexandri Alesii Epistola contra decretum quoddam Episcoporum in Scotia quod prohibet legere novi testamenti libros lingua vernacula". Cf. Lorimer, The Scott. Ref., op. cit., pp. 40-44.

real author of the epistle, Philip Melanchthon, "that Coryphæus of heresy, that architect of lies". Cochläus defends and commends the action of the Scottish bishops. To this accusation Alesius replies with the second epistle: "Reply to the Calumnies of Cochläus"⁽¹⁾, in which he narrates the events leading up to his flight from Scotland, brings out the character of the Scottish bishops, and again he protests against their tyranny. His literary opponent got the last word in a satirical epistle:⁽²⁾ "Pro Scotio Regno Apologia Johannis Cochläi adversus personatum Alexandrium Alesium, Scotum ad Serenissimum Scotorum Regem. Ex Dresda Misniae Idibus augusti MDXXXIIII,"⁽³⁾ but there is no doubt that Alesius' epistles served well in Scotland both in their contention for the right and liberty of the people to read the Scripture as well as to make men like John MacAlpin see the stand which they had to take in the coming struggle between the Reformation and the corrupt and regardless leaders of the Roman Catholic Church.

6. Activity of re- From the cases of indictment in 1534, when
formed Friars and
Clergy. a heresy tribunal was established, and
from the trials of heretics which, as suggested before,
followed upon the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton⁽⁴⁾, we
may safely conclude that there were a large number of

(1) "Alexandri Alesii Scoti responsio ad Cochläi Calumnias",
found in Anderson, Annals of the English Bible, Vol. II, p. 447.
(2) Lorimer, op. cit., pp. 40-44.
(3) "John Cochläus' Apology for the Scottish King to ^{the} Scot, -
Alexander Alesius, to the Scottish King". Ibid., pp. 40-44.
(4) Harkless and Hannay, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 208. 44

friars and clergy who, while John MacAlpin was a prior at Perth, worked definitely for reform. Their influence must have been significant, judged by the measures which the leaders of the Church took against them. But their work was not in vain. We must cite a couple of instances of tragedy and comedy among this group of reformers. It will give us an insight in the character of the reformers and their "crimes".

First, the vicar of Dollar, Thomas Forret, who was summoned before the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Bishop of Dunkeld. A beautiful and suggestive picture is given us by Calderwood of the type of his offence: He "taught his flock the 10 Commandments, wrote a Catechism for the children, converted many, studied ardently, visited the sick and shared with the poor, and studied the Scriptures so much that he learned three chapters a day by heart". It was to him that the Bishop of Dunkeld is supposed to have said: "I thanke God, that I never knew what the Old and the New Testament was"! But when Cardinal David Beaton finally had condemned the pious vicar to the stake and asked him to recant, he replied as a true reformer: "Before I denie a word which I have spokin, yee shall see this body of myne blow away first with the wind, in ashes"(1).

(1) Calderwood, Hist., Vol. I, pp. 127-129.

Scotland's native reform movement was getting its bloodwitnesses.

The other case which we shall mention here, out of the several available, is that of Prior Alexander Seyton of the Black Friars of St. Andrews, most probably a contemporary student and comrade of John MacAlpin. He was a bold preacher in his city, and, among other things in a sermon, had said that the Law of God had not been set forth in Scotland for many years, and "that there were in Scotland no bishops, if bishops were to be known by such notes and virtues as St. Paul required of them". Eager reporters told this to Archbishop Beaton, who immediately sent for Alexander Seyton. He asked him if it were correct what he had said, "that it behoved a bishop to be a preacher, or ellis he was but a dume dogy, and fed no the flock, but fed his own bellye". Seyton answered that such slanderers must be liars, who would claim that he had made such statements. They were called in and repeated their accusations against Seyton. But the friar was ready with a reply: "My Lord, you may see and consider what earies these asses have, who cane not discern betwix Paull, Isai, Zacharias and Malichie and Frear Alexaue Setoun. In verray deid, my Lord, I said that Paull sayis: "It behoveth a bishop, to be ane teichear". Isai sayith, "Thei are idoll pastouris". I of my awin head affirmed

nothing, butt declared whet the spreitt of God had befoir pronounced; at whom my Lord, yf ye be offended, juistly ye cane nott be offended at me. And so yit agane, My Lord, I say, that they ar manifest leyaris that reported unto you, that I said, "That ye and utheris that preach nott ar no Bischoppis, but belly goddis". Beaton became, of course, highly offended and must have trembled with rage, but Seyton was the King's confessor, and not until the Archbishop had succeeded in undermining the favor of the reformed friar with the King do we read that Alexander Seyton "departed the realm"⁽¹⁾.

7. The Condition of
the Church in Scot-
land.

But the decisive influence for the Reformation in Scotland and for the Roman Catholic Church was its staggering abuses.

Lorimer claims that "there was no other country in Europe where the abuses had reached such a height as in the Scottish Kingdom"⁽²⁾. He gives as causes: The remoteness of the country, the general rudeness and lawlessness of the population, aggravated by the constant wars with England and internal strife, the wealth of the Church, the weakness of

(1) Harkless and Hannay, op. cit., pp. 201-202.

(2) Lorimer, Precursors of Knox, op. cit., p. 77.

the royal prerogative which depended upon the clergy and the nobles and had to be paid in luxury and worldly positions, which made the Church, as the State, the avenue to wealth and greatness for the nobles, the higher classes, and the legitimated offspring of ecclesiastics⁽¹⁾. One must shudder when reading about the outrageous instances of disorder in the Church. Archbishop James Beaton of Glasgow, and later of St. Andrews, was imprisoned a couple of times for treason, a factious and violent culprit who several times threw away the crozier for the sword. Bishops Dunbar of Aberdeen and Douglas of Dunkeld were of the same type, the latter on one occasion inviting an English army to invade the country⁽²⁾. The

curse of pluralities, ignorance of the clergy and *non-residence* caused the neglect of the parishes and offices in the church. Cases of immorality were staggering among ecclesiastical officials. Prior Patrick Hepburn of the Augustine Monastery at St. Andrews, when Alexander Alesius was a friar there, Secretary of State from 1524-27, was one of the outstanding sinners in this respect. His numerous criminal intrigues, even with married women, carried on in many cases within the priory itself, were well known. His action of gathering a body of armed men against his superior Archbishop when he was requested to renounce one of his mistresses provided gossip for the public to the disgrace of the Church.

(1) Ibid. pp. 77-78.

(2) Knox, History of the Reformation, Vol. I, p. 43.

His requests for legitimation of his numerous children are matters of record in the Registers of the Great Seal and no particular compliment to his vow of celibacy and chastity. It was even mentioned from the pulpit that he boasted to his colleagues that he had gone beyond them in intrigues and adulteries⁽¹⁾. He was not alone in this practice. The Registers of the Great Seal bear striking and indisputable witness to the numbers of illegitimate children which the various leaders in the Church wished to have legitimated. When looking at the condition of the Church in Scotland during John MacAlpin's youth and priorship, the words of Patrick Hamilton gave the characteristic and descriptive designation for it: "How long, Lord, shall darkness overwhelm this Kingdom? How long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of men?" John MacAlpin's voice began to be outspoken and his influence dangerous to the old ways of the Church and its corrupt leaders. The influences of the Reformation and the conscience striking condition of his Church had, as we now shall see, done their work.

(1) Ibid., p. 76.

D. John MacAlpin's Conversion to Protestantism, 1534.

1. The Impact of Reformation Influences.

There were, as we just have seen, several decisive influences at work for the Reformation which furthered and matured any inclination which John MacAlpin had for a Reformation in the Church which he served. As a prior among the Dominicans, the vanguard of the Church, the detectives of heresy, the defenders of the faith, he would not only secure, but thoroughly study, the Lutheran tracts that came into Perth. If they were to be refuted, he had to know their content and argument. . . . Patrick Hamilton's preaching and martyrdom and the movement for reform, initiated through him at St. Andrews and joined in by the Augustinians and, especially by the Dominicans, issued in the appearance of outspoken preachers here and there. Indeed, we have decisive evidence, beside John MacAlpin's ^{conversion,} that it also reached the Dominican Monastery at Perth, in the fact that one of the most eager preachers of reform at Dunkeld was James Hewat, who had been subprior at Perth, one of John MacAlpin's colleagues. Add to that Alexander Alesius' literary contributions, first contending for the liberty of all to read the Scriptures, and, next, the narrative of his own experience and views, and John MacAlpin had to search his own heart and chose his stand in this struggle. A cherished friend's personal experience, sufferings inflicted for sincere and vital

convictions, and the testimony of a righteous man against unrighteous accusers were strong factors to make John MacAlpin arise to ally himself with the advocates of a Reformation against the unjust representatives of the old Church.

2. His Reaction to-
wards cases of In-
dictment before Heresy
Tribunal.

When he, furthermore, saw the sincere attempts of several of his friends to speak ~~for the~~ cause of reform in the Church and learned about the treatment with which the indicted clergymen were afflicted by the Bishops, something reacted within him whose likeness we shall see again in Denmark when cold, rigorous Lutherans appeared merciless against people of Calvinistic and Anabaptist persuasions. Then he staked his position for the defence of sincere religious convictions and experience irrespective of dogmatic differences. He hated hypocrisy.

3. The Need of Reform
in the Church.

When he, at Perth, looked at the Church, the Roman Catholic Church, his Church, and saw its disorders, its open wounds and its offensive abuses, the nasty and outrageous morality of some of its highest representatives, the professionalism and ignorance of its clergy, the spiritual poverty and darkness of the people, he had to make his choice.

4. His personal Experience of Faith, the decisive factor. This led him, first of all, to a thorough examination of the basic

dogmatic principles in the Protestant view and genuine conversion to the same. Such is the source of any dynamic faith, and it was the secret power of the great Reformers. What outside influences for the Reformation could only assist in doing, and what crying needs for reform in external religious matters could not give the impetus to do, John MacAlpin's own experience of personal faith in the free grace of Jesus Christ could do. His religious experience showed him the erroneousness of the Roman Catholic Church's way to salvation, brought him back to the Scriptures as the only authority in matters of faith and practice, and endued him with the power to confess it in public. That inner change and spiritual experience made him finally break with the Roman Catholic Church, its orders and its faith. Although we have no definite record of how or when his conversion to Protestantism took place, we find it the secret behind his characteristic and powerful address at the University of Copenhagen in 1553 on Rom. 14:23: "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin"⁽¹⁾.

5. The Establishing of Tribunal of Heresy in 1534. John MacAlpin went over to Protestantism in 1534. That is, at least, the last year in which his name appears on the registers of

(1) Oratio in Dictum Bauli ad Romanos XIV, 23, March 7, 1553 at the University of Copenhagen, Dänische Biblio., VIII, pp. 257-278. See translation in Appendix Nr. VI.

the monastery and in public records. The decisive act which brought the situation to a point that year was the establishing of a court for the trial of heretics by the Bishops⁽¹⁾. The edict of 1525 against importation of Lutheran tracts, with its additions the same year and in 1527, the example set in 1528 with the burning of Patrick Hamilton - that so will be the fate of heretics - the act of 1532 forbidding the reading of Tyndale's New Testament in the vernacular and the several indictments following, did not prove effective in quenching the spirit and activity of the native Scottish reformers. The fires of persecution were to be lit in earnest. Rörðam contends that John MacAlpin's "heart early turned to the Reformation"⁽²⁾. Lorimer claims that he by 1534 had "attained the distinction of being known as a dreaded Lutheran"⁽³⁾. This much we know, at least, that he fell under suspicion. Knox tells us that Beaton summoned certain men before the tribunal of heresy at the "Abbey Kirke of Holyrood House" on August 26, 1534. Their names were David Stratoun and Norman Gourley. It appears that several others were indicted at the same time, and among them the prior of the Dominican Convent at Perth, John MacAlpin.

(1) Harkless and Hannay, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 210.

(2) Rörðam, C. F., op. cit., p. 587-588: "Da hans Hjerte tidlig vendte sig til Reformationen, forlød han sit Fædreland".

(3) Lorimer, Precursors of Knox, p. 185.

6. Indictment, escape
to England, 1534.

The two men mentioned above appeared and were condemned to death. The next day they were led to a place beside the rood of Greenside, "and thair the two war boyth hanged and burnt, according to the mercy of the Papisticall Kirk"⁽¹⁾. It was well for John MacAlpin that he failed to obey the summons of the Bishop. Having seen the inevitable consequences, if he appeared before the heresy tribunal, he decided to leave his monastery, his work, his position and his fatherland. He had, perhaps, hope of returning? We do not know. All that we do know, is the fact that he never again saw his native land. He joined the ranks of refugees who, for the sake of their faith, went into exile. He escaped his inquisitors and persecutors. No dramatic tales have been left to us of how it took place. Most probably there was nothing sensational about it. All that the fratres at the monastery could say was, that John MacAlpin had gone. In secrecy he disappeared, and to see a wandering Dominican friar hastening southwards was nothing unusual. When we again meet him, we find him an object of the favor of Nicholas Shaxton, the first English Protestant Bishop of Salisbury.

(1) Spottiswood, Hist. of Scotland, Edit. Russel,
Vol. I, p. 131.

7. A protestant
Reformer.

John MacAlpin had become a Protestant Reformer, and the next six years in touch with the leaders of the new religious movement in England and Germany brought out a personality, well equipped by learning, strong of convictions, proven in faith, destined to ~~make~~ a significant contribution to the cause of evangelical Christianity in Denmark.

CHAPTER II

JOHN MacALPIN IN ENGLAND, 1534-1539.

A. The Religious Situation in England into which John MacAlpin went.

1. Henry VIII's break with the Papacy.

John MacAlpin entered England in the very important year of 1534, when Henry VIII broke completely with the Papacy. In Scotland the papal delegates employed apparently more advantageous tactics with King James V. They were inducing him to allow stringent measures against the native reformers by sharing with him some of the financial profits from the Church; and the Tribunal of Heresy, established in 1534, was one of the results. In England, however, the Papacy fared differently at this time. The Pope did not succeed in accommodating Henry VIII, as His Holiness was forced to show primary regard for Emperor Charles V. Henry VIII was not *slow to act*. He severed all connection with Rome, and, for a while, England provided a place of refuge for reformed Scottish clergymen, exiled from their own country for the sake of their faith.

Let it be stated here, however, to explain Henry VIII's obvious lack of appreciation for the fundamental religious issues in the Reformation, that the English Reformation had, so far, very little in common with the contemporary movements in Germany and elsewhere

on the Continent. Henry VIII did do away with the Papal Supremacy, spiritual and temporal, in England; he did set the Church of England free from the rule of the Bishop of Rome, but his motives in so doing were ~~not~~ essentially religious! The starting-point and direct cause were a quarrel with the Pope, who refused him a divorce from his Queen, Catherine of Aragon; and the result was "a kingly papacy on the ruins of the jurisdiction of the Pope"(1).

This was in favour of the Reformation. The immediate consequences were a decided depreciation and, frequently, persecutions, of such as still professed allegiance to the Supremacy of the Pope, and a temporary ascendancy in prestige, position and power of such as heartily joined the King in his drastic actions against the Roman Catholic Church. So long as the Reformers served his purpose Henry VIII employed them, and no longer. The Reformers themselves, also, took decisive advantage of the opportunities offered them, and the English Reformation must be dated definitely from this time.

2. The eventful years
of 1533-1534

In order fully to appreciate the situation into which John MacAlpin went, when he stepped ~~on to~~ English soil, we must hastily

(1) Lindsay, Thomas M., A History of the Reformation, 2 Vols., Edinburgh, 1907, Vol. II, pp. 315-316.

review the proceedings regarding the Church in England during the eventful years 1533 and 1534. The King began his attack on the Supremacy of the Papacy by forcing the clergy of the land to acknowledge that "the King was their singular protector and only supreme lord, and, as far as that is permitted by the law of Christ, the Supreme Head of the Church and of the Clergy" (1). This was in 1531. Parliament and Convocation assisted the King, during the next year, in enforcing the submission of the clergy. On January 25, 1533, Henry VIII married Anna Boleyn, on March 30, Cranmer, whom some called a "Lutheran", a representative of the new learning, was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, and, on April 11, Convocation pronounced null and void the marriage between the King and Catherine of Aragon. The year 1534, in which John MacAlpin arrived in England, proved no less eventful. One of its acts forbade the payment of Annates to Rome and provided for the appointment of Bishops (2), another forbade the payment of Peter's Pence and applications for dispensations to the Pope (3), a third established the royal Succession along the lineage of the King's second

(1) Ibid., p. 327.

(2) Gee, Henry, and Hardy, Wm. John, Documents illustrative of English Church History, compiled from original sources, Macmillan, London, 1896, p. 201.

(3) Ibid., p. 209.

marriage⁽¹⁾, a fourth declared the King to be the Supreme Head of the Church of England, t. [potestas jurisdictionis, not potestas ordinis,⁽²⁾] a fifth act, the Treason's Act, termed it treasonable to deny the King any of his titles⁽³⁾. The Abjuration of the Papal Supremacy by the Clergy in Convocation was made, the same year, in the following words: " - the Roman Pontiff had no greater jurisdiction bestowed on him by God in the Holy Scriptures than any other foreign - ex-ternus - Bishop".⁽⁴⁾

Enactment followed enactment. It was no small task to disestablish the allegiance paid the Pope at Rome during centuries, and the King knew that this was of primary importance. In the summer of 1536 an interesting Royal Injunction asks "deans, vicars and others having cure of souls - for the establishment of the King's authority - as the Supreme Head of the Church of England", that they "to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning" use every Sunday for a quarter of a year, and from then on two Sundays every quarter, to declare in their sermons "that the Bishop of Rome's usurped power and Jurisdiction has been taken away and abolished"⁽⁵⁾.

(1) Ibid., pp. 232, 244.

(2) Ibid., p. 243.

(3) Ibid., p. 247.

(4) Ibid., p. 251.

(5) Ibid., pp. 269-274.

John MacAlpin needed not fear, under such circumstances, to cross the borderline into England and to make his way to the most influential men in the country. He acted accordingly.

3. Factors favorable to the Reformation in England at this time.

There were, besides, significant factors to reckon with in favor of

the Reformation in England at this time. John MacAlpin would be able to find real reformers on his way from Perth to the capital of England, and there is no doubt that he has "studied the lay of the land", as he proceeded southwards on his new adventure.

a. Lollardy. Lollardy, the movement for reform which Wiclif commenced so long ago, had never completely disappeared. The denial of Transubstantiation, ^{the} denouncement of the Papal Supremacy, ^{the} protest against the ignorance, immorality, sloth and wealth of the English monastics, the demand for, and reading of, the Scriptures, the spreading of evangelical doctrines - were charges repeatedly laid against "heretics" indicted and executed by ecclesiastical authorities, which, in turn, testifies to the influence of Lollardy in England. In fact, during the years from the beginning of the sixteenth century till the appearance of Martin Luther at Wittenberg numerous cases of indictment for "heresy" give evidence of the strength of these reformers. In 1521

it is claimed that the Bishop of London arrested five hundred "Lollards".⁽¹⁾

b.Reformers at the Universities. But, what was more significant, there

also were groups of academic men at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, present and future leaders in the Church, who very early became eager students of Erasmus and subsequently of Luther's writings. Wolsey's College at Oxford was as early as 1521 severely suspected for harboring^u Lutheranism. It was very well known at the University of Cambridge that the academists met at the White Horse Tavern to discuss Luther's writings. In fact, the inn was characteristically nicknamed "Germany" and its celebrated guests, the "Germans".⁽²⁾ So advantageously was it located that men of Lutheran inclinations could reach it from the backs of the three colleges. Dr. Robert Barnes, one of the celebrated Protestant martyrs of England, Prior of the Augustinian Friars in Cambridge, preached reform already in 1525.⁽³⁾

c.Attitude of the King, of Cromwell, and the people.

The break which the King made with the Papacy did not mean, as we have already seen, that he was a Protestant. He was an opportunist. So far as religious convictions were

(1) Jacobs, Henry E. The Lutheran Movement in England, G. W. Frederick, Philadelphia 1890, pp. 2-3.

(2) Gardiner, James, The English Church in the 16th Century, from the Accession of Henry VIII to the Death of Mary, Macmillan and Co., London, 1902, p. 89.

(3) Lindsay, op. cit., p. 320.

concerned he was a Catholic as much as ever. He contended for the dogma of Transubstantiation with equal force as for the King's Supremacy over the Church. Denial of either of these points was dangerous during most of his reign. But his opportunism served the cause of the Reformation. Thomas Cromwell's philosophy of religion, in its relation to the affairs of the Kingdom, was much the same as the King's. He had been appointed Vicar-General: to represent the King in the Church as the Legate previously had represented the Pope⁽¹⁾. It would not be fair, however, to claim that Cromwell was unsympathetic towards the Reformation, but, whatever his religion was dogmatically, it was dictated decisively by political expediency. His primary interest in foreign policy was an alliance with the Lutheran Princes of Germany against the Emperor.⁽²⁾ For that purpose he sought the fellowship of such men as were of Reformation ideas and influence, in order to bridge the gulf between the religious situation in England, the dogmas and practices of the English Church, - and the views of the Lutheran Church in Germany. Popularly he was believed to be a Protestant, and he did befriend the Reformers who flocked around him till his

(1) Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

(2) Merriman, Roger Bigelow, "Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell", 2 Vols., Oxford, 1902, Vol. I, p. 286.

fall in 1539. His contribution to the cause of the Reformation, without here considering his motives, was the work of the men, whom he called to significant positions in the Church, such measures as he promulgated against the power of the Roman Catholic Church, and the enactments favoring the spread of Reformation ideas in England. So far as people in general were concerned, they clung to the medieval theology, but detested the Papacy and wanted the clergy kept in due subordination. On these points King and People were agreed.⁽¹⁾

d. A number of the
Bishops and others
for the Reformation.

Then there was, finally, a small group of Bishops, Cranmer of Canterbury, Latimer of Worcester, Shaxton of Salisbury, and others like Heath, Archdeacon of Canterbury, Foxe, later Bishop of Hereford, Dr. Barnes, the prior from Cambridge, Garrett, Jerome, and several other prominent men of the new learning, - men with distinct inclination towards Protestantism, who utilized the situation during Cromwell's regime and later, to wield a significant influence for the Reformation. This especially the Bishops did in national religious issues, as members of Convocation, as within their own dioceses they promoted the ideas and men of the Reformation.

(1) Lindsay, op. cit., p. 350.

B. John MacAlpin becomes a Canon and Prebendary at the Salisbury Cathedral.

When John MacAlpin left Perth he could *reach* the capital of England either by sea or by land. The former method had been used by several other refugees as the cheaper and generally the safer way. But by 1534 it had become quite dangerous to go by boat as the Bishop had spies in the seaports and such other places as were suspected of harboring^u heretical writings and representatives. Alesius had earlier been caught in an attempt *to* escape this way, and had been lodged in prison for a considerable length of time. So the Dominican Prior in ~~the~~ *the* group went probably on foot by way of Berwick, that city of refuge for heretics, into England. Here he threw off the dress of his Order, which otherwise might cause him too painful explanations. When next we meet him he had joined the secular clergy.

1. Met with Alexander The first main stop on the way must
Alesius.

have been Cambridge, the seat of learning, where he found many adherents of the new religious movement with which he had allied himself. We are unable to determine the season of the year in which John MacAlpin left Scotland. There is no doubt that he met Alesius in England, and it may very well have been at Cambridge. In fact, Alexander Alesius,

who had been at the University of Wittenberg since October 1533, arrived at Cambridge in 1535 on the invitation of Cromwell, the Vicar-General, to lecture at the University as a King's Scholar. He had already made a reputation for adherence to the new learning and as a learned divine, and it was he whom Cromwell employed to discuss with the Bishops on the question of the Sacraments, when "A Book of Articles" of common principles, proposed as a dogmatic basis of union between the English Church and the German Protestant Divines, had been drawn up. (1)

But what an experience for these two countrymen to meet, whether it were at Cambridge or in London. (2) Perhaps it was prearranged through correspondence? We do not know. But John MacAlpin brought fresh news from Scotland, which had passed sentence of condemnation on his friend. He could mention names of mutual acquaintances who had joined the Reformation movement and either yet lived in fear in the homeland or had escaped into England or the Continent. His future wife, evidently from Sutherland, was among the group that went into England, and so was her sister,

(1) Gardiner, op. cit., p. 175.

(2) Lorimer says: "A friendship which sprang up between him (John MacAlpin) and Alesius in England, and which was firmly cemented by common dangers and sufferings, and by a remarkable congeniality of tastes and pursuits, continued to bind together these two distinguished exiles for the remainder of M'Alpine's life".
Precursors, op. cit., p. 186.

the lady who became the wife of the celebrated translator of the Bible, Myles Coverdale, as we shall see later. Alexander Alesius was by now an outstanding representative of the Reformation. He had been thoroughly initiated into the positive and dynamic ideas and doctrines of Evangelical Christianity among the Reformers in Wittenberg. He knew the places of refuge, and he had his connections in England and abroad. Thus John MacAlpin joined the host of internationals who led on the cause of the Reformation in Northern Europe, the fellowship of courageous and heroic men whose vision of a new day in Christendom could not be dimmed.

2. Significant Change
of regime at Cathedral
of Salisbury, 1535.

The same year, 1535, in which
Alexander Alesius was called to

Queen's College at Cambridge, saw Cromwell and Cranmer succeed in ~~having~~^{an} Act passed in Parliament which very soon proved advantageous even to John MacAlpin. Two Bishops, Ghimiccind of Worcester and Cardinal Campeggio of Salisbury, were deprived of their positions by parliamentary decision. The motive given was that "for the more part of the time of their promotion - they - have been, and yet be, resident - at the See of Rome, or elsewhere - far out and from any part of the King's dominions - and that for this that great quantity of gold, silver, and treasure, to the yearly value of

3000 Pounds at the least, have been yearly taken out of this realme of the said bishops". That was one charge. Another, even more decisive, might as well have been added: that King Henry VIII had not succeeded in getting Cardinal Campeggio, an Italian, the Papal Legate, to secure from the Court of Rome a divorce from Queen Catherine.⁽¹⁾ In their places, Latimer was consecrated Bishop of Worcester in September, and Nicholas Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury at St. Stephens, Westminster, by Cranmer of Canterbury, Stokesley of London, and Chetham of Sidon, on April 11, 1535. Shaxton had been educated at Cambridge, resident at the Gonville Hall of which he later was a benefactor. He had held the office of Treasurer at Salisbury Cathedral since 1533, while he also held the rectories of Fugglestone and Bennerton.⁽²⁾ Even more significant, to appreciate the influential position which Shaxton held, is it, that he had been chosen by Queen Anne Boleyn to be her chaplain and almoner, and that for this he had been preferred to Latimer by Lord Cromwell in 1534. It was the Queen who soon after saw to it, that Shaxton was promoted to the bishopric, which had become vacant, or was made vacant, through the deprivation of Cardinal Campeggio. The date of his nomination to his new

(1) *Fasti Ecclesiae Sarisberiensis*, edited by William Henry Jones, Salisbury, Brown and Co., and London, 1879, p. 104, Note.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 226.

office was at Salisbury February 22, 1535. (1)

3. John MacAlpin befriended by Cromwell and Shaxton.

The change in regime at Salisbury Cathedral resounded through the work

and positions in connection with this great foundation. Shaxton, of the new learning and decidedly for the Reformation, effected such replacing of personnel as he preferred. One of those who received highest consideration was John MacAlpin. Another Scot who also was esteemed by the new bishop was John M'Dowel, of whom we shall hear later. Bale tells us that John MacAlpin was immediately received by Bishop Shaxton and Lord Cromwell and others because of his ardent zeal for the Christian faith and his signs of great erudition. (2) Having spent some time with this group of influential men at London, who had just been appointed to their new positions, John MacAlpin proceeded to Salisbury.. We have no record of the type of work in which he was engaged there for the first couple of years, but in 1538 he was promoted to a prebendary stall.

4. The Salisbury Cathedral Foundation.

The Cathedral in connection with which he spent four or five years

was an institution over 400 years old, having been founded at Old Sarum ca. 1100. A little over a century

(1) Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer, edited by the Parker Society, Cambridge, 1846, Vol. I, p. 293, Note.

(2) Bale, Scriptorum, op. cit., p. 226.



later, it removed to New Sarum, where in 1225 the foundations for the present beautiful Cathedral of Salisbury were laid. Its jurisdiction extended over the three counties, Wilts, Berks and Dorset.⁽¹⁾ Originally, a cathedral with its bishop had a twofold purpose, to evangelize its diocese, train and send out men for the same and supervise their work, and, secondly, to maintain a program for worship in the Cathedral-Church, which might serve as an example and model for the churches in the diocese;⁽²⁾ and the Cathedral of Salisbury was famous for its "Processionale".⁽³⁾ The number of men associated with the foundation was considerable. We have a record of a visitation of the Cathedral of Salisbury a century or more preceding the time when John MacAlpin was there, and that reveals the following staff: The Bishop, the quattuor personæ: Dean, Præcentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer, four Archdeacons, fifty-one Canons and Prebendaries, viri canonici et præbendi, namely 24 Priest-Canons, 16 Deacon-Canons, and 11 Sub-Deacon-Canons, three other officials, officia perpetuæ habentes, namely, the Penitentiary-General (Sub-Dean), the Sub-Chanter, and the Master of

(1) *Fasti Ecclesiæ Sarisberiensis*, op. cit., pp. 40-41, 43, 51.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 239.

(3) The book "per excellence" on this subject is Wordsworth, Chr., *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cath. Church of Salisbury*, Cambridge, at the University Press, 1901.

the Grammar School, finally the Vicar Choral made up of 24 Priest-Vicars, 16 Deacon-Vicars, 11 Sub-Deacon-Vicars, plus 7 Chantry Priests, 2 Clerks of the Sacrist, 7 Clerks of the Altar, and 7 Minor Clerks.

This makes a grand total of 130 persons, which number, however, was cut down considerably at the time of the Reformation⁽¹⁾. We have definite records, that just before the Reformation there were 49 Canon-Prebendaries, and that their number after the Reformation had been cut down only to 47⁽²⁾. There were three orders of Canons: Priests, Deacons, and Sub-Deacons, and all of them had to provide a Vicar at the Cathedral and a vicar at the Parish Church of the Prebend, which Salisbury was able to grant all of its Canons.

5. Vicar at the Cathedral.

It is unfortunate, that we have no record of the type of work in which John MacAlpin was engaged at the Cathedral until 1538. He was probably a Vicar, and we may safely conclude that he also taught at the Cathedral Schools. He would then live within the precincts of the Cathedral, and, beside his teaching and study, take his turn at the "ceaseless supplications for grace, the perpetual intercessions, the endless praise - unbroken, yet ever new - like nature herself, with daily varyings, never changing majesty"⁽³⁾ in the

(1) Fasti Ecc. Sarisb., op. cit., p. 203.

(2) Ibid., p. 199.

(3) Ibid., p. 239.

services of the Cathedral Church. Literary work had his primary interest, and Bale informs us, that he wrote several books or tracts, the titles of which unfortunately have been forgotten.⁽¹⁾ We shall later refer to two of his works written while in England.

6. Collated to Prebend
of Bishopstone, July
12, 1538.

On July 12, 1538 John MacAlpin was
favored with a position in the

Cathedral, which gave him a place in its concilium, and made him financially independent. The records of the Diocesan Registry at Salisbury show that Nicholas Shaxton collated him to the Prebend⁽²⁾ of Bishopstone with a stall in the Salisbury Cathedral⁽³⁾. Bishopstone is a town in North Wilts, and was, like Oxford, originally included in the large manor of "Ramesberie", the early seat of the Bishops of Wiltshire. This was a Deacon-Prebend, whose financial grant was estimated at twenty Pounds, and at the time of the "Valor" was reckoned at twenty-four Pounds annually. The Vicar of Bishopstone was, however, to receive two Pounds, thirteen Shillings and four pence, and the Vicar Choral in the Cathedral one Pound and ten Shillings, so that MacAlpin's annual income would amount to circa twenty Pounds, or about 225 Pounds in present day value of

(1) Bale, op. cit., p. 226.

(2) Canon, nomen officii, denotes the relationship with the Church, prebendary, nomen beneficii, denotes the endowment with which the canonry was paid; Ibid., pp. 194-195.

(3) Fasti Ecc. Sarisb. p. 360, and confirmed by correspondence with the Registrar of the Diocesan Registry at Salisbury.

currency. Unfortunately for him, he had to pay three pounds, six Shillings and eight pence in "Cope Money"⁽¹⁾ to the Cathedral at the time of his appointment, but then he received in return a considerable sum from the "communia", the common fund, which daily granted the Canons an allowance apparently of ten Pence, or about 9 Shillings in our rate of currency, for the number of days served according to the arrangements in the Cathedral.⁽²⁾

7. The Canon-Prebendary's work.

Upon the Canon-Prebendaries was imposed the duty of daily recitation in the Cathedral Church of a portion of Psalter. This service was so divided among them that day by day the whole book of Psalms would be recited, and was, we are told, in the early days regarded as intercessory, especially for the benefit of the benefactors of the Church, whether living or departed. In fact, so late as 1556 a copy of the Sarum-Breviary has a treatise entitled: "De laude, virtute, et efficacia Psalmorum"⁽³⁾ appended to it. John MacAlpin's part was to recite the 67th Psalm, "Deus Miseratur", and the 68th, "Et exurgat Deus"⁽⁴⁾, apparently to be said sometimes during the fourth quarter of the church-year, the months of July, August and September.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Ibid., p. 260.

(2) Ibid., pp. 244-245.

(3) Ibid., p. 199.

(4) Ibid., p. 363.

(5) Wordsworth, op. cit., p. 130.

The prebend allowed John MacAlpin a large amount of freedom. Various rules were from time to time made for the period of residence at the Cathedral demanded of the Canons. They seem to have been free to reside any one quarter, or during parts of all four quarters, of the year. By payment of one third of the value of the prebend, prebendaries would purchase exemption from their presence for service at the Cathedral.⁽¹⁾ So many Canons eventually did this, that there came to be a smaller permanent staff of Canons at the Cathedral, who were called Resident-Canons, the number of which never seems to have been over thirteen⁽²⁾. This special canonry was, at the time of the Reformation, "an object of cupidity" to the appointment of which one needed "a pull" from those in "higher places". Pre-election into residence was so coveted, because of the large remuneration from the common fund, the "communia", when it was divided among so few, that by 1585 a gentleman, who already held the office of Precentor, was elected into the fifth vacancy next ensuing!⁽³⁾

There is no evidence, that John MacAlpin was a Canon-Resident. He had apparently no real interest in stopping here. He did not seek office for large endowment's sake. He was a Reformer. The prebendary

(1) Fasti Ecc. Sarisb., pp. 244-245.

(2) Ibid., p. 246.

(3) Ibid., p. 246.

had a house of residence near the Cathedral. Here he lived and worked save when the Cathedral demanded his presence. It is to be doubted that John MacAlpin ever made his home at Bishopstone⁽¹⁾. A Vicar did the work of the Parish Church, and John MacAlpin could pursue his literary interests. The present rector of Bishopstone possesses records of his predecessors back to this time but does not find the name of John MacAlpin. It is doubtful that MacAlpin ever visited Bishopstone. It is not known that even the present prebendary ever visited the parish!

8. Another Scotsman: One of the interesting facts of
John M'Dowel, at another Scotsman's work in Salisbury
Salisbury in 1537.

at this time is that of John M'Dowel's preaching in the Cathedral, in 1537, as one of the Bishop's chaplains. That the two Scotsmen, connected with the same Cathedral, shared a good deal of fellowship is obvious. John M'Dowel⁽²⁾ is said, by Lorimer, to have been the first preacher in that city to denounce the Supremacy of the Pope and to support the ecclesiastical Supremacy of Henry VIII. He was a fearless Scotsman, of true Re-

(1) Lorimer, The Scott. Ref., op. cit., p. 259, confuses Bishopstone per Salisbury for Bishopstowe in Wiltshire. He infers that John MacAlpin was rector in the latter, which is not so. The present rector at Bishopstowe possesses the record of rectors before him since the 13th century.

(2) M'Dowel, or McDowal, sub-prior of Dominican Monastery at Glasgow in 1530. Ibid., p. 57.

formation-type. His preaching so angered the zealous partisans of the Pope, that they managed to have him arrested and imprisoned. From the prison he wrote both to the Bishop and to Cromwell about his unfortunate experiences, and he was eventually liberated⁽¹⁾. John MacAlpin was as much of a Reformer as M'Dowel, but he did not engage very much in preaching. There is no doubt that the MacAlpin residence was a place of happy refuge for exiled Scottish Reformers, and also for John M'Dowel.

9. John MacAlpin marries
Agnethe Mac^uthe^uson.

This leads us to another significant
event during this period in the life

of John MacAlpin, a bit of information which we secure from an old document from the University of Copenhagen, namely, that he married Agnethe Ma^uthe^usen, another Scottish Protestant exile. From the oration, or obituary, delivered at the time of Mrs. Agnethe Macchabæus's funeral, conducted from the University of Copenhagen in 1589, we gather that she was born in 1503 of an excellent and noble family in Sutherland⁽²⁾ in North Scotland. She and her parents were noted for their great zeal for piety, so that during the time when stringent measures were adopted

(1) Lorimer, Precursors, op. cit., p. 187, refers to three letters of M'Dowel's to the Bishop and to Cromwell. Letters may be found in the Cromwell's Correspondence in the State-Paper Office.

(2) In the Latin copy of the funeral-oration found in Joh. Pistorius' Brevbog, Gl. Kgl. Saml. 3078, 4, and cited in Rördam, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 359, No. 261, her name appears as "Agneta Sudderlandia vel Mattheusona". There is no appearance that she was a member of the family of the Earl of Sutherland around the opening of the 16th Cent. Ref. The Scots Peerage, edit. by Sir James Balfour Paul, Edinburgh, 1911, Vol. VIII, pp. 318-319 and

against the "heretics" in Scotland, after Patrick Hamilton's death and especially from 1534 and onward, she - and most probably the whole family - decided to remove into England⁽¹⁾. The Ma^cthe^oson family may have made their way at first to London. Soon they found other countrymen, and they sought especially such among them as shared their deeply religious life. Such refugees, wherever found, became one great fellowship. From the position and training which John MacAlpin held, he would naturally be pastor for such of them as were within his reach, and his home may well have been a place of refuge for his countrymen in that part of England. We possess no definite record of the time when Agnethe Ma^cthe^oson became Mrs. John MacAlpin, but it was probably in 1538, when John MacAlpin secured his prebend. Shaxton and Latimer and others of the well known Reformers had also married. The match between the two Scottish Protestant exiles was, by the outward events and circumstances of their lives, their persuasive religious piety and convictions and a mutual appreciation of values, destined to be happy. That is the testimony, which has been left to us. The Ma^cthe^oson

(Note 2 continued from page 58:) 335-339. Of "noble family" does not necessarily mean "of Nobility", which R^ordam op. cit., Vol. III, p. 588 infers. Her name may have been Sutherland, a very common Scottish name, but it is very improbable that she would have two surnames. Sutherland is undoubtedly the geographical district in which she had been brought up, which is frequently confused in medieval and later documents.

(1) Bale, Scriptorum Ill., op. cit., p. 256.

home must have been of means to secure a good education for the daughters, who later became wives to such learned and renowned men as John MacAlpin and Myles Coverdale⁽¹⁾.

10. Relationship with Myles Coverdale, and its significance.

The obvious fact that John MacAlpin and Myles Coverdale met in England, either with Cromwell, in the Matthewson home, or in the newly married John MacAlpin's home, proved highly significant for both of them in the future, especially for Myles Coverdale. It surely saved Queen Mary from adding another terrible blot to her stained career of torture and persecution of Protestants, when John MacAlpin years later in Copenhagen had the King, Christian III, of Denmark demand Myles Coverdale's release from prison⁽²⁾.

Myles Coverdale was another one of the men of the new learning at Cambridge. Born in the county of York in 1488, he was sent to the Monastery of the Augustinians at Cambridge and became very early a zealous disciple of Dr. Barnes, the prior who had studied at Louvain under Erasmus. It is significant for us to know that Cromwell had been a patron of Coverdale ~~where~~ the latter was yet a student⁽³⁾. In 1514 he took priest's orders.

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- (1) Memorials of Myles Coverdale, Samuel Bagster, London MDCCCXXXVIII, p. 139, referring back to Fox's Acts and Monuments, edit. 1614, Vol III, p. 182.
(2) Correspondance between Chr. III and Queen Mary found in Fox, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 182ff.
(3) Memorials of Myles Coverdale, op. cit., p. 7.

Dr. Barnes had openly preached Reformation ideas already in 1528, was arrested, accused of heresy, condemned, but abjured and fled to the Continent. But the zeal of their leader brought the Cambridge Reformers out in the open, and Coverdale laid aside his habit of a monk, assumed that of a secular priest, and went out into the country to preach and convert to Protestantism⁽¹⁾. The Bishop of London took notice, and Coverdale fled to the Continent, landed in Hamburg, where he assisted Tyndale in translating the Pentateuch⁽²⁾. Shortly, however, Tyndale went to Antwerp, and Coverdale proceeded into Denmark, where he seems to have spent the years from 1529 to 1534, busy with his translation of the Bible. He corresponded with Cromwell, so that when he *had finished* his work, Cromwell asked him to *make* his translation ready for publication. Coverdale's Bible appeared in 1535⁽³⁾.

The years in Denmark gave Coverdale an intimate acquaintance not only with the religious situation there, which issued in the formal establishing of the Reformation in 1536, but also with the Royal House of Denmark. When he reappeared in England in 1535 and joined the company of the Reformers gathered about

(1) Ibid., pp. 12-13.

(2) Ibid., p. 30.

(3) Cf. Fox, Acts and Monuments. co. cit., Vol. IV, p. 364, in Ibid., p. 24.

Cromwell, he made John MacAlpin's acquaintance and, probably that of Mrs. MacAlpin's sister, Elizabeth Matthewson. Coverdale, however, was busily engaged in the work of translation and publishing of the Bible, and was at Paris in 1538 to bring out the Great Bible, or Cromwell's Bible. An edict forbidding its prosecution obliged Coverdale to return to England to accomplish his undertaking⁽¹⁾. But his stay was short. Cromwell, with whom he was on intimate terms of friendship, his protector, fell from the favor of Henry VIII, and was executed in the summer of 1540. Coverdale had found life in England too risky and had left for the Continent again alone. He went to Tübingen, where the University laureated him Doctor of Divinity⁽²⁾, and then he proceeded to fetch his bride. That, however, takes us too far in our narration of events at present. Let it be sufficient to state, that through Myles Coverdale John MacAlpin received some knowledge about the country which later adopted him, and some acquaintance with the significant work of translating and spreading the Bible, in which he later should have share in a land and tongue yet foreign to him. Miss Elizabeth Matthewson may have stayed with her sister in the MacAlpin home.⁽³⁾.

(1) Dictionary of English History, compiled by Lowndes. Putling, Cassell and Company, Ltd., London, etc., New Edition, 1928, p. 336.

(2) Memorials, op. cit., p. 138.

(3) Strype's assertion in Ecc. Memo. Vol. II, p. 464, cited in Memorials, op. cit., p 139, that the wife of Myles Coverdale, Elizabeth, "was born in those parts", referring to Denmark and Germany, is a mistake, which may be explained by the reasonable possibility, that Elizabeth Matthewson went with her sister, Mrs. MacAlpin, to the Continent in 1539, and that Myles Coverdale claimed his bride over there.

C. John MacAlpin's Writings while in England.

1. Critical Works. It is not a great deal of information, we possess, regarding the literary output of John MacAlpin while he lived in England; and yet, there is sufficient by which to judge the character of his writings, their style and evidences of scholarship. Bale⁽¹⁾ tells us that John MacAlpin wrote several works of criticism, the titles of which unfortunately have been forgotten. That means, that most of his time must have been given to literary pursuits.

2. The tract: "De vera et falsa Ecclesia".

But, fortunately, Bale recalls the title of one of the works, which may have been one of the most prominent. That is "De vera et falsa Ecclesia", or "The true and the false Church". Thomas Dempster⁽²⁾ affirms the same. Rörðam refers to this treatise and suggests that it expressed the fervent convictions of evangelical Christianity and gave evidence of great learning.⁽³⁾ That may be the expression of the tradition associated with it, its content and effect. Its publication, at least, placed its author in the vanguard of the Reformers in England. We have scanned the libraries and their MSS in Great Britain and in Copenhagen, but, so far, we have to confirm the verdict of other

(1) Bale, Scriptorum, etc., op. cit., p. 226.

(2) Dempsteri, Thomae, Historia Ecclestastica Gentis Scriptorum: sive, De Scriptoribus Scoti, Editio Altera, Exudebat Andreas Balfour cum Sociis, Edinburgh, 1836. Nr. 921, p. 486, records originally printed in 1627.

(3) Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 588.

historians who have been interested in the publication,
that it seems no longer in existence.

3. The treatise: "De Conjugio Sacerdotum",
in MS. But we have found one of his treatises
written while he resided in England⁽¹⁾.

If it ever were published seems doubtful, at least no
copies of it have yet been found. We have it only in
MS, written in a scholarly Scottish hand during the
latter part of the first half of the 16th century. It
consists of 13 folio pages, with about 50 lines written
compactly on each one of them. The subject is: "De
Conjugio Sacerdotum, an liceat Sacris Initiatis con-
trahere Matrimonium", or, "Concerning the marriage of
Clergy, whether it is lawful for those of sacred orders
to contract matrimony". The author's position is already
given in the phrase which follows the title: "Affirmatur,
autore Johanne Macchabeo Scoto"⁽²⁾.

a. Importance of this MS. This MS is very important for our study
for various reasons. The story of the
MS itself may, incidentally, tell that of many other
MSS from the same time. The establishing of its authen-
ticity is interesting. The type of the script seems that

(1) Dr. J. H. Baxter of St. Andrews University informed us
in 1934, that he, incidentally, had, among the MSS at
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, encountered a treatise,
attributed to the authorship of Johannes Macchabeus, and
that he had had photostatic copies made of it, which
he presented to the National Library, Edinburgh. We
pursued the given information, had another set of
Photostatic copies made and transcribed the Latin text
of four centuries ago. It is presented here for the
first time. A resume of it appears later in the thesis,
and the transcribed MS appears in Latin in Appendix.IV.

(2) Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 112.
Nr. 23., in Latin.

of a rather careful scribe, but the content of it gives us a fair idea of the method of argumentation employed by the Reformers, the bases of argument, the scholarship of the author, his views upon the subject itself, and, apparently, the clue to his new name.

b. Story of the MS. The MS is one out of a great collection of

MSS donated by Archbishop Parker of Canterbury⁽¹⁾ to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Parker was himself a Cambridge-graduate, who, like Shaxton, in 1535 was made Chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn, and in 1537-38 even to the King. In 1559 he was consecrated Archbishop. He was an ~~active~~ collector of MSS and books. The greater part of his acquisitions along that line were gathered during his archepiscopate. We are told⁽²⁾ that, as archbishop, he employed special agents for the purpose of procuring all the printed books and MSS possible. He saw the value of the literary material available especially from the archives of the dissolved monasteries, also, of that which issued from the new religious movement at home and abroad. One of his agents is reported to have secured the number of 6700 volumes. Strype⁽³⁾ writes about the Archbishop: "He kept skilled amanuenses in

(1) b. 1504, d. 1575.

(2) James, Montague Rhodes, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 2 Vols., Cambridge at the University Press, 1912, Vol. I., p. XV - XVI.

(3) Strype, Life of, etc., Edition 1821, Vol. II, pp. 497ff.

his household, especially Lyly, who would counterfeit any antique writing and was employed to supply the deficiencies of various ancient books". Many of the MSS bear evidence of having been touched by skilled scribes, even that of Johannes Macchabæus Scotus.

Most of the MSS had already been arranged by Archbishop Parker when Corpus Christi College received them. Unfortunately the original titlepages of many of them were lost during the process of binding the selections. MS. 113, of which "De Coniugio" is Nr. 23, is largely a collection of letters and tracts of Bucer's, whose executor the Archbishop was, and from whom he secured a good deal of Reformation correspondence. But, in between all of that, the tract "De Coniugio" has been placed; probably because, by the time when the MSS and the books were orderly arranged, its author was known to live on the Continent.

c. Authenticity of the treatise.

As to the authenticity of the treatise,

"De Coniugio", we have to depend entirely upon Archbishop Parker's notations. The MS itself bears no name, but some scribe, probably when the title-page had gone and having reviewed the treatise, wrote the title on the page of content of the whole selection, and added the, perhaps original, words: "affirmatur, autore Johanne Macchabeo Scoto". The fact that the MS comes from the collection of a contemporary of whom John MacAlpin, through Shaxton and Cromwell and Alesius during

the years 1535 - 1538/39, obviously must have been in close relationship is as valuable a proof as any of its authenticity.

d. When was MS, But when did the Archbishop secure the written?

MS? John MacAlpin must have written it when and where the question of marriage of clergy was an object of severe dispute and, perhaps, attack. No period seems to have been more timely than in 1538 and during the first half of 1539 when the coming of the Six Articles, which forbade clergy to marry, was debated, finally to be enacted by Parliament in 1539 with death-penalty for transgression of them. The reformed bishops fought against the enactment, but the House of Lords put it through without the Clergy. John MacAlpin's treatise was undoubtedly composed as a scholarly contribution to the burning question before the

Six Articles became a law. The question of whether clergy were permitted to marry was of vital importance to the author himself, as we already know. He and several of his friends among the Reformers had married. There is no doubt that his sudden departure in 1539 was due to his married state more than anything else.

Parker was at this time Chaplain to the King. Did he get the MS to wield what influence he could at Court? Did he bring it to Parliament or Convocation?

Did he show it to Lord Cromwell? We do not know. One thing we do know: Parker secured the treatise and kept it. There is no apparent, or even logical, reason why he should receive it from the Continent, or Copenhagen, at a later period. He could have secured it from some other English Reformer, but most ~~probably~~ he was entrusted with it by John MacAlpin himself in 1539.

e. John MacAlpin's Here we have then John MacAlpin's new new surname.

surname for the first time. In his incorporation as prebendary at Salisbury in 1538 he is mentioned as John Macalpin. But on the MS he appears as Johanne Macchabeo Scoto, which in the nominative case is the name with which he signs himself in Copenhagen years later, Johannes Macchabeus. His new surname is undoubtedly the literary cognomen used by himself on the tract. To the latinized form of his Christian name and his new surname is added, as was common on literary contributions, his nationality. Lorimer's suggestion⁽¹⁾, that Melanchthon gave him the name Macchabeus, seems thus quite uncalled for, and is also actually disproven by the fact that John MacAlpin at Wittenberg registers at the University as D. Johannes Macchabeus Scotus,⁽²⁾ which informs us that he used the new surname upon his arrival on the Continent.

(1) Lorimer, Precursors, op. cit., p. 186, bases his assertion upon Stephanus, Historia Danica, who says distinctly that it was Melanchthon who gave John MacAlpin his new name. (Other opinions may be found in M'Crie, Life of Knox, Vol. I, Note 1).

(2) Cited in Ibid., p. 232, Note K.

4. Content of
"De conjugio sacer-
dotum".

The tract "De conjugio sacerdotum"
is published in full in the transcribed

Latin version in the Appendix to this treatise from the
original manuscript⁽¹⁾. We shall here only give a
summary of the content of the tract.

Macchabæus introduces his treatise by mentioning that several reasons have been given against the marriage of such as have taken sacred orders. Some hold that the offices of deacon, subdeacon, presbyter and pastor (episcopatus) in no way permit matrimony. Others acknowledge that this can not unconditionally be the rule, but that matrimony may continue after a man has taken sacred orders, but that conjugal intercourse may not take place. Others again hold that when a man has taken sacred orders he is in no way allowed to marry.

Against these three positions Macchabæus places his arguments under the following points:

I. He will cite the authorities who hold that those who have taken sacred orders may well live in matrimony.

II. He will point out the authorities who hold, that it is not unlawful for ecclesiastics to have conjugal intercourse with their wives.

III. And he will cite those authorities who prove that lawful matrimony may also be contracted after the taking of sacred orders.

Macchabæus is careful to emphasize that the question concerning the marriage of priests is: not what has been ordered by decisions of bishops and rules of men, but what has been permitted and prohibited by the divine law. Although it would be more reasonable to refer to the arguments of Scripture, he will employ only the old and acknowledged writers as opponents always refer to them. Wherefore he, first, wishes to make certain what has been the practice of the Church concerning the matter in question, and next, to have his readers listen to

⁽¹⁾ pp. 338-364 in this treatise.

the testimonies of long ago, in favor of his position, in order that no one any longer shall trust those who with subtile arguments attempt to contaminate the true and simple teaching (intelligentiam).

I. The arguments in favor of permitting marriage for those who have taken sacred orders:

Eccl. Hist. III. 3⁽¹⁾ Clement⁽²⁾ of Alexandria asks those who reject matrimony, if they also find fault with the Apostles, Peter (and John) and Philip, who were married and gave their daughters in marriage, and refers to the story that when Peter's wife was led away to suffer, Peter cried out: "Wife, remember, that so is marriage of the holy". Macchabæus holds that it is in vain that opponents claim that the Apostles ~~were~~ ^{will have} married before they became Apostles, but that they did not continue in marriage in the Apostolate. Had Clement referred to the marriage of Peter, John and Philip, before they became Apostles, he would not have employed the reference concerning Peter and his wife where Peter said, that so is the marriage of the holy, as they first became "holy" by their call to the Apostolate.

Eccles. Hist. VI. 42: Bishop Chairemon of Nilopolis was married and suffered death together with his wife. Matrimony did not hinder Phileas from being elected Bishop. He, likewise, sealed his call by martyrdom, and when he was led away to suffer he was admonished by his relatives to regard his wife and children.

Eccles. Hist. III. 29:: The co-deacon of Stephen, Nicolaus⁽³⁾, was married and lived in conjugal intercourse with his wife. Clement held that deacons were allowed to marry and that they without reproach might live with their wives. This argument, Macchabæus mentions, also holds good for Point II.

(1) The underscored references are Macchabæus's.

(2) b. ca. A. D. 150.

(3) Acts 6,5.

Eccles. Hist. X. 5: That Bishop Spiridion⁽¹⁾ of Cyprus was married was no hindrance for his distinguishing himself by the gift of prophecy and that he did satisfactory work. Cyprianus⁽²⁾ claims that clerics preferably should be unmarried in order not to be tempted by women. If they, however, have a wife, or a feminine relative in their house, they shall employ no other women servants. Thus, Macchabæus concludes, Cyprianus holds that clerics may be married, but have no feminine household servants, as he also warns clerics not have any strange women come into their houses, in order not to give cause for suspicions and bad rumors. This argument, also, is related to Point II.

Chrysostomus⁽³⁾. IV. 1: Isaiah had a son, but was nevertheless a prophet. Moses was married, and communed with God. Abraham became the father of the people and of the church. Jesus visited Peter's mother-in-law, and although Christ was born of a virgin, he had fellowship with married people. Shun, therefore, not marriage, but hate concubinage! Our contemporaries, says Macchabæus, permit priests to have a concubine and fornication, but prohibit matrimony. Chrysostomus cited also the examples of "the pillars" of the early Church and their marriages. Furthermore he refers to the holy Bishop Philogomus, who had a wife and a daughter. The reference in Titus⁽⁴⁾: "the husband of one wife", as one of the qualifications of a ~~Presbyter~~ is also employed here, and although Macchabæus seems to interpret that passage as making matrimony a prerequisite for appointing a man an Elder, the reference might have been equally valuable and to the point, if he had suggested only the fact that the married state thus is taken for granted, also, in the case of Elders. He refers likewise to the passage of Paul in 1. Tim. 3, 2, 13, and Paul's position. Finally, Chrysostomus, according to Macchabæus, gives his own point of view that if one desires to do so, it is lawful to take a wife. These arguments may also be employed under Points II and III, as Chrysostomus seems not only to permit matrimony, but also conjugal intercourse, and even that presbyters marry. Christ's words concerning the rich must be noted, because

(1) In 4th century. Present at Nicea A. D. 325.

(2) The Bishop of ~~Carthage~~.

(3) b. ca. A. D. 347, d. 407.

(4) Titus 6.

because when a priest and a bishop are permitted to have riches, although Christ has said, that it is hard for those who have riches to enter the Kingdom of Heaven, why should it be less permissible to be married, although Paul says that the married people have cares and anxieties for the things of this world.

Irenaeus(1), Adv. hereses I. 9: (The concluding part of the Latin MS seems very corrupt, but we gather the content to be:) Some women have after their conversion confessed, that they have been taken with passion for a Magus, and that they have loved him; so it happened for an Asiatic deacon's wife. She had been enticed by a Magus and followed him. Only after a long while did her parents succeed in converting her, but for a long while the husband complained of the shame which the Magus had given him.

Ambrosius:(2) 2. Cor. 2: Ambrosius's point of view, Macchabæus holds, is to the effect that if to be chaste, or untouched, (VIRGINES) refers to keeping one's body untouched (from conjugal intercourse) then all the holy, as well as the Apostles, except Paul and John, will be excluded. He must have argued for chastity as a matter pertaining to the heart.

Hieronymus (3) against Jovinianus: Hieronymus does not deny that married men are being chosen to the priesthood, because so many untouched men, as are needed for the offices in the church, are not to be found. However, when for the priesthood unmarried men are passed by in favor of the married men, then it is due to the fact that they are not equally qualified, or that people have failed in their choices.

Pelagius (4) to Cethegus Patricius: From this letter we note, says Macchabæus, that there is no divine law against a married man's ordination to bishop, though it is prohibited by human law. Pelagius's opinion is that the reason for making such a law must have been that the wives and sons of bishops endanger the welfare of the Church.

(1) Bishop of Lyons in 2nd Century.

(2) Ambr. of Milan, 340-397.

(3) Hieronymus, Eusebius Sophrinus, one of the four great church Fathers.

(4) [Probably] Pelagius, Paver, (P. I, 555-561).
The Patricians of Sicily

From the Canon of the Apostles - the rule is found, that it is reasonable that a bishop upon his death leaves them (his wife and children) all his property.

From Concilio Martini - it is to be noted that if a widow of an ecclesiastic again takes a husband, no cleric is to visit her, but when she is to die, he may administer to her the sacrament, and she is then to be called widow of a bishop, etc., because she was the wife of the same so long as he lived.

Eccles. Hist. XI. 9: When Gregory of Nazianzus was ordained bishop in place of his father, he prohibited false teachings. From the biography which introduces his works, Macchabæus notes that Gregory provided for his mother, who succeeded his father.

Transitio:

From these judgements Macchabæus has proved that matrimony may be combined with the ecclesiastical positions, wherefore Point (Scopus) I is established.

Point II. That it is not unlawful for ecclesiastics to have conjugal intercourse with their wives.

From the Canon of the Apostles:

Concilio Gangrensi(1): Considered the question whether they who saw married priests and kept away from the services of the church, did it for any other reason than that they believed that the testimony of the priests was profaned by their conjugal intercourse.

Synodo Nicena: When the Synod was to decide upon the "canones", some proposed that bishops and presbyters were not to be allowed to sleep by their wives, even though they had married before taking sacred orders. Against this position Paphnutius protested, holding that this would provide a severe cause for fornication which would embrace both themselves and their wives. The synod agreed with him and decided to let each man decide for himself in the issue.

(1) Gangra, in which a Synod was held in 343, or 340, in the main against the disciples of Eustathios of Sebaste. 20 "Canones" were decided upon. - [Kirke-Leksikon For Norden, Edited by J. Oskar Andersen, 4 Vols., København 1900-1929. Vol. II, p. 167.]

Synodus sexta: Held that the wish has been that lawful matrimony should be motivated by love, so that priests do not dissolve marriage with their wives. They who loved before their ordination, should not, because they live with their wives, be hindered from securing such positions; and they who ought to keep from their wives shall not at ordination be forced to vow to live in chastity. But they who serve at the Altar ought to be abstinent, when they bring their offering, in order that they may obtain that for which they pray.

Ignatius(1) recalls a number of holy men, "such as left this life in chastity", but he remembers, also, those who lived in matrimony, and he wishes, to the honor of God, to follow those in His Kingdom, who were married, such as Abraham, Isaac, etc., and Peter and the other Apostles, not of passion, but for multiplying the race.

Eccles. Hist. V. 34: Bishop Polykrates(2) of Efesos had seven ancestors who, in succession, had served in this office.

Distinc. 56 ca. Osius Damasc. Hieronim (?): This refers to popes whose ancestors have held ecclesiastical offices. It is quite improbable, Macchabæus suggests, that all of them were born before their fathers were ordained! That they were born in lawful wedlock is taken for granted. This favors, also, Point III, as it informs us that matrimony, before it was prohibited, was everywhere permitted the clergy, as was also a priest's marriage after his ordination.

Point III. Those authorities which prove that lawful matrimony may also be contracted after the taking of sacred orders.

Synodus Ancyritana(3) in tho. 38: Macchabæus emphasizes here two points: First, that it is permitted deacons who before their ordination have declared their intention to marry, to remain in their positions as married, while, secondly, they who have promised chastity must leave their positions, if they,

(1) Ignatius of Antioch, one of the Church Fathers.

(2) Led, ca. A. D. 190, a strife against Bishop Victorius of Rome concerning the correct time for the Easter celebration.

(3) Synod of Ancyra was held in A. D. 314.

nevertheless, marry. It was thus possible, he concludes, to be ordained without the vow of chastity.

In decreto Innocenti: Innocent, says Macchabæus, concluded from the words, that "a pastor may take a virgin to wife", that he might take only a virgin. It proves, however, that priests were allowed to marry.

Our doctors of law, he continues, acknowledge that according to the divine law priests are not forbidden to marry, only according to the human law. One of his contemporaries, a doctor in law, holds that it would be best, if the question was left open for each one to decide for himself, so that they, who do not live in chastity, might marry.

If, furthermore, the situation in the church of old is compared with that of the present, truly voluntary chastity may be found in the latter, but also that it, because of the demand of celibacy, is soiled with sexual vice.

The scholastic theologians have not, on this point, insisted that the divine law prohibited clergy from marrying, but that the law to this effect was of the church. Macchabæus can not, therefore, sufficiently wonder that the opponents suddenly are busying themselves with founding their point of view on the divine law.

Finally, they who agree with him on Points I and II, but still have something against Point III, must from the Writings find a basis for their position, that the divine law does not permit clergy to marry, when they have been ordained, although this formerly was lawful.

The Scholastics: have in almost all of their writings treated the question whether sacred orders hinder matrimony and dissolve it if already consummated.

Thomas:⁽¹⁾ held that although the constitution of the church did not demand it, it is fitting that those of sacred orders who are to handle sacred vessels, are abstinent. The church, however, may dispense from the vow of chastity.

(1) Thomas Aquinas, 1225-1274.

Bonaventura: (1) held that any one taking priest's orders ought to take the vow. The order of the priesthood among the Romans has to vow chastity.

Durandus: (2) took the position that the ecclesiastical state hinders matrimony and dissolves the already consummated marriage, not because of the demands of the position, but because of its nature.

Petrus de Paludo (?) mentions that, according to the rules of the church, the positions of deacon, sub-deacon and priest hinder matrimony and dissolve marriages already consummated. - Likewise says Rich. de media villa (X) - "both because of the rule as of the vow which has been added".

⑧ Richard of Middleton.

Doctors of law:

Panormitanus: (3) taught that clerics are not forced to chastity by divine law, and that the Eastern Church never introduced the vow of chastity, wherefore it, however, is not guilty of sin. The same law, that ecclesiastics must be chaste, gives the Western Church complaint over numerous souls, wherefore he believes that just as the church itself has introduced the vow of chastity, so whenever it will recall the same, the recall will suit well the words of the Apostle: "Concerning virgins

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- (1) Whose name really was Giovanni Fidanza, b. 1221 in Italy, a Franciscan, famed for his learning and even more for his piety and ascetic life, became bishop of Albano, during which period he worked for a union of the Eastern and the Western Churches. [Kirke-Leksikon, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 354.]
 - (2) Durandus a Sancto Porciano, famous scholastic, a Dominican. John XXII called him to Avignon to be the theologian at the papal court. The scholastics honored him with the name: Dr. resolutissimus! [Kbid., Vol. I, p. 691.]
 - (3) Panormitanus, a learned Benedictine by the name of Nicolaus de Tudeschis, b. in Catanea 1386, doctor in canonical law at Siena, Parma and Bologna. In 1434 archbishop of Palermo, wherefore he was called Panormitanus. The Schism-Pope, Felix V, made him a cardinal. He died 1445 or 1453. He was one of the strong advocates of a council over the pope to be the supreme authority of the church. His contemporaries called Panormitanus lucerna juris. - [Kbid., Vol. II, pp. 541-542.]

I have no commandement"(1). In the church of the Old Testament the priests were demanded abstinence from their wives only on days of festival. Abstinence, Panormitanus holds, is not to be found among ecclesiastics.(!)

Regarding monastics, Innocent (apparently Innocent IV) acknowledges that there is no divine law against the marriage of clergy, but that it is prohibited only by the law of the church.

Innocent IV(2): held that marriage does not, by the law of nature, hinder any one from being ordained into sacred orders, as any one who has taken orders may continue to live in a formerly contracted marriage (as the Eastern Church also allows marriage), unless the law of the church prohibits it.

(1) 1. Cor. 7,25.

(2) Innocent IV, 1243-54, who in spite of the fact that political and economic interests far surpassed his ecclesiastical interests, was renowned for his learning in canon law.
[Kirke-Leksikon, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 541-542]

D. Clouds gather anew for John MacAlpin.

1. The Progress of the English Reformation and the Popular reaction.

John MacAlpin spent at least four years in England, (1535-1539), and

during this time Henry VIII, Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer continued their aggressions against the papal institutions and orders in the land.

a. Ten Articles, 1536.

In 1536 the Ten Articles appeared, five concerning doctrines and five regarding

ceremonies in the Church of England. Foxe, the martyrologist, described them accurately as meant for "weaklings, newly ^lw~~a~~ned from their mother's milk of Rome"(1).

They were an attempt to construct a creed "which a pliant Lutheran and a pliant Romanist might agree upon"(2).

We refer to them here, because they give us an idea of the status so far of the real Reformation in England.

The doctrinal articles contend for the Bible, the Creeds (Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian) and the doctrinal decisions of the first œcumenical councils as the standards of orthodoxy. The ceremonial articles are quite startling: Baptism is necessary for salvation, "children dying in infancy shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, and else not"; the Sacrament of Penance is retained with confession and

(1) Cf. Lindsay, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 332.

(2) Lindsay, Ibid., p. 335.

absolution, as expedient and necessary; the substantial, real, corporal Presence of Christ's Body and Blood under the form of Bread and Wine in the Eucharist is taught; faith as well as charity is necessary unto salvation, images are to be retained, saints and the Blessed Virgin are to be revered as intercessors(1). The Ten Articles were far from fulfilling the demands of those who had caught the inspiration of Wittenberg, but they may have satisfied those trained in the school of the Christian Humanists as Dean Colet and Erasmus. They are supposed to have been drawn up by the King, and they give us a valuable picture of a prevalent attitude towards the Reformation.

b. Catechism, A Catechism was issued in 1537 embodying 1537.

 in the main the Ten Articles, but with this change that seven of the chief ceremonies of the Church were called Sacraments, while in the Ten Articles only three of them were. Acts of Injunctions to teach the Ten Articles were passed in 1536 and 1538.

cc Bible in the vernacular, 1536-37.

 This further positive aid in favor of Reformation was commanded in the Injunctions of 1536, that a copy of the Scriptures in the vernacular, Coverdale's translation, should be set up in every church before August 1537(2).

(1) Ibid., p. 334.

(2) Ibid. p. 336.

d. Acts for Dissolution
of Monasteries, 1536, 1538.

The drastic Acts during these years were those of 1536 and 1538 for the Dissolution of the Monasteries, first of those whose annual rentals were less than 200 Pounds, next the ^{iv}vestment of all monastic property in the King. The empty royal exchequer needed it, and huge amounts of wealth were thus placed at the disposal of the King. But it caused severe economic upheavals for those who had tilled the monastic estates, to be deprived of their livelihood.

e. The Pilgrim-
age of Grace.

A popular insurrection, which no doubt was eagerly supported by the Clergy, ensued in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Lincolnshire. It denounced the contempt shown for Holy Mother Church, the dissolution of the monasteries, the spoliation of the shrines, the disregard for Our Lady and the saints, the imposition of new taxes, enclosure of the common lands, the doing away with use and wont in tenement rights, the accusations against the Lady Mary as illegitimate, the "low birth and small estimation" of the King's Counsellors and the five reforming Bishops, especially Cranmer and Latimer⁽¹⁾. This Pilgrimage of Grace, as it is called, did not stop Henry VIII from

(1) Ibid. p. 346.

taking over monastic property, but he was shrewd enough to see that perhaps the Reformation, along the lines which primarily interested him, had been pressed on too hastily. If England had produced at this time a Martin Luther, a John Calvin, an Ulrich Zwingli, a Hans Tausen, or a John Knox, the Reformation might have become a popular movement, but so long as it primarily was a matter of parliamentary enactments, mainly of an economic character, reactions were certain to ensue. The King decided to call a halt. Cromwell, still insisting on his plans of an alliance between the Continental Protestants and England, was chosen as the scapegoat. On the King's command he was imprisoned, condemned without a trial, and beheaded on July 28, 1540.⁽¹⁾

2. The Six Articles' It was not only the papal adherents Act, 1539.

that experienced the autocratic powers and whims of the King,-the Protestant clergy, also, had ~~this~~ severe trials, which really by 1539 signify an arrest in the progress of the Reformation in England. It took Edward VI again to hasten it on and Mary's merciless burnings at Smithfield finally to establish it. The enactment of the Six Articles, or the "Act abolishing Diversities of Opinion", in the summer of 1539, gave

(1) Ibid., p. 347.

a distinct set-back to the Reformation and a hard blow to the hopes of its leading representatives. The Protestants called it aptly the "whip with the six strings". Parliament met, in 1539, from April 28 to June 28. On May 16th, the Duke of Norfolk introduced the following six questions for discussion:

1. "Whether there be in the Sacrament of the Altar transubstantiation of bread and wine into the substance of flesh and blood, or not?"
2. Whether priests may marry by the law of God, or not?
3. Whether the vow of chastity of men and women bindeth by the law of God, or not?
4. Whether auricular confession be necessary by the law of God, or not?
5. Whether private masses may stand with the word of God, or not?
6. Whether it be necessary by the Word of God that the Sacrament of the altar should be administered in both kinds, or not?"⁽¹⁾

The House decided to discuss the questions apart from the Clergy. Questions 2 and 6 were answered in the negative, the rest were affirmed quite unanimously by the laylords. By June 28, 1539 the Six Articles had become a parliamentary "Act for Abolishing Diversities of Opinion", the transgression of which was to be punished not only by forfeiture of all property, but by death⁽²⁾. This actually meant, that the Lutherans were now as liable to capital punishment as previous Acts had made the Papists. Cromwell, however, was able to hinder its practical execution upon those

(1) Cf. Ibid., p. 347. See Acts in Gee and Hardy, op. cit., pp. 305-306.

(2) Gee and Hardy, op. cit., pp. 316-319.

closely associated with him until his fall. Then the executioners got busy: Cranmer's life was spared this time, but three clergymen of Lutheran views, Dr. Barnes, Garret and Jerome, were burnt, and other three Romanists were tortured and beheaded for denying the King's spiritual supremacy two days after Cromwell's execution(1).

3.) The endangered position of the married Clergy.

Immediately upon the passing of the Six Articles' Act Cranmer dismissed his wife whom he had married in Germany. Latimer of Worcester and Shaxton of Salisbury resigned their sees(2), the latter on July 1st, 1539. The new Bishop of Salisbury, John Salcot, alias Capon, formerly of Bangor, was a very unscrupulous man whose profession ever changed with that of the ruling administration. When he succeeded Nicholas Shaxton he saw to it that several Protestants were led to the stake(3).

4. John MacAlpin and his wife leave for Continent, Summer, 1539.

We do not wonder, therefore, that John MacAlpin could read the signs of the times. The Registers of Salisbury Cathedral do not inform us when he left his prebend, but they do tell us sufficient, namely, that he was succeeded in "ca. 1539, by Paul Busch; Can. Resident. (Last Rector of Edington Priory,

(1) Lindsay, op. cit., p. 349.

(2) Gardiner, op. cit., p. 208.

(3) Fasti Sarisberiensis, op. cit., p. 106.

(4) Ibid., p. 400, 401.

and first Bishop of Bristol, 1542)"(1). John MacAlpin knew of the proposal of the Six Articles in Parliament in May 1539. He saw clouds gathering anew against his safety and that of his wife. He wrote his treatise on the question of marriage of clergy, an excellent defence. But the Six Articles became Law. Nicholas Shaxton resigned, and so did John MacAlpin. He had once before been under the threat of a Heresy Tribunal and saw no need of incurring unnecessary danger to his wife or to himself. In the summer of 1539 they boarded a ship on the southern or eastern coast of England, and left, refugees once more, for the Continent. It seems quite possible that Elizabeth Matthewson, the bride-to-be of Myles Coverdale, accompanied them. They set out towards *The Netherlands*, to continue on the historic Rhine to the city of Cologne, where so many Scotsmen had chosen to broaden their knowledge of law and theology during the past hundred years.

(1) Ibid., p. 446, Addenda.

CHAPTER III.

JOHANNES MACCHABEUS IN GERMANY, 1540 - 1542.

A. At the University of Cologne. Winter of 1539/40.

1. "Exhausting and wearisome journeys". Only scattered bits of information are obtainable regarding the whereabouts of Johannes Macchabeus and his wife from the time they left England, in the summer of 1539, till their arrival at Wittenberg in November 1540. When in Copenhagen years later they recounted their experiences to their son, colleagues and friends, an impression was conveyed of that transitional year as being one of "various exhausting and wearisome journeys", after which "they found rest at Wittenberg"⁽¹⁾. We do possess sufficient data to substantiate the accuracy of that impression.

2. To Cologne. Their first place of residence on the Continent was Cologne. The voyage across the Channel to Holland on a small merchant sailing-vessel could be trying - as even yet in our day! Arriving at Rotterdam, or at Bruges in Flanders, they boarded a vessel which carried them southwards on

(1) Reflected in the funeral-oration for Mrs. Macchabeus, op. cit., translated in full on pp. 311 - 312.

the Rhine to the ancient city of Cologne with its famous university.

3. Why did Macchabeus go to Cologne?

We fail to know why Macchabeus went to Cologne instead of proceeding immediately to Wittenberg, the seat of the Reformers. True is it, that for over a century large numbers of Scotsmen had gone to Cologne rather than to any other continental university, to supplement their study of Law and Theology⁽¹⁾. But it can not have been merely academical interests that guided Macchabeus this time, and especially since the University had not yet openly lined up with the Reformation. Was he probably interested in Switzerland, Zürich or Geneva? Was it Myles Coverdale, who had been at Geneva when his translation of the Bible was printed, that had interested Macchabeus in pursuing the course along the Rhine rather than the Elbe? Cologne being only half the way, we do not know. He did, however, exhibit Calvinistic tendencies in his theological views.

4. Becomes Bachelor of Theology.

We find no entry of Macchabeus's name on the matriculation rolls of the University of Cologne at any time, nor of any

(1) Hannay, Robert Kerr, Early University Institutions of St. Andrews and Glasgow: a comparative study; Scott. Hist. Review, 1913, p. 277. (James MacLehose and Sons, Glasgow, 1913.)

name which, allowing for misspellings, might suggest MacAlpin or Macchabæus. Dr. Herman Keussen, as mentioned before, has, so far as the records have been available, edited Die Matrikel der Universität Köln in a most admirable and accessible manner. The fact that Macchabæus's name is not found need not surprise or disquieten us, as there are indications that the matriculation and the granting of degrees were at times not properly entered.⁽¹⁾ It is from the registers of the University of Wittenberg, we learn that Macchabæus at Cologne received the degree of Bachelor of Theology⁽²⁾.

It is suggestive of Macchabæus's learning that after only one year at Cologne he was granted a degree primarily for the teaching of theology at universities. It is also a sign of the vocation which Macchabæus chose to follow as a Protestant. He aimed to become a Doctor, or teacher, in the Church, wherever the opportunity might open up for him.

While Macchabæus was preparing at Cologne for a university chair, his friend and countryman, Alexander Alesius, had just been appointed to one, at

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- (1) Rashdall, Hastings, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2 Vols., At the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1895, Vol. II, p. 253, Note 3. Leipzig, 1838.
- (2) Förstmann, *Liber Decanorum Facultatis Theologicæ*, University of Wittenberg, finds him described there as follows: "Venerabilis vir D. Johannes Macchabeus Scotus, Bacularius Theologiæ Formatus Coloniensis". Cf. Lorimer, *Precursors*, op. cit., p. 185, note.

the University of Leipzig, in 1539 on the recommendation of Philip Melanchton⁽¹⁾. Myles Coverdale had been honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Tübingen and had secured, through the Duke of Deux-Pont at Bergzabern, three leagues southwest of Landau, a benefice in Holland⁽²⁾. It seems quite possible that he fetched his bride,,Elizabeth Matthewson, from the home of Macchabeus at Cologne. The two sisters separated, Myles Coverdale went on to his benefice in Holland and returned later to England where, under Edward VI, he became Bishop of Exeter, while Macchabeus with his wife, in the summer of 1540, proceeded on his way to Wittenberg. The two sisters and brothers-in-law were not to meet again until 15 years later, when Macchabeus through King Christian III succeeded in securing his brother-in-law's release from the imprisonment by Queen Mary in England. Their happy reunion in Copenhagen will be mentioned in due time.

B. Stops at Bremen on way to Wittenberg. Autumn of 1540.

1. Significance
of stay at Cologne.

The year spent in Cologne was not without profit for Macchabeus. He learned a good deal of the German language, although the lectures at the University were given in Latin. He

(1) Richard, James William, Philip Melanchton, the Protestant Preceptor of Germany, G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, New York and London, 1898, p. 265.

(2) Memorials of Myles Coverdale, op. cit., p. 139.

secured an appreciation of the issues involved between the Swiss Reformers and those at Wittenberg, and he obtained a theological degree which fulfilled the academic prerequisites for the teaching of Divinity at a university.

2. The goal was Wittenberg.

But Wittenberg was the goal of his journeyings. Any leader in the new Protestant Church coveted the opportunity to sit at the feet of the most famous of all teachers at Wittenberg, "the preceptor of Germany", Philip Melancthon, to experience the fearless spirit of Martin Luther and to share the fellowship of men from many lands. Wittenberg had become the recruiting-station for positions in churches and universities in reformed countries. So, having secured his theological degree, Johannes Macchabeus and his wife set out for the city on the Elbe, Wittenberg.

3. Stops at Bremen.

The journey could be made over land, but it was less expensive by river and sea. So they secured passage on a merchant vessel northwards on the Rhine, ^{and} exchanged into another ship going to Bremen. The free cities of northern Germany were *generally* havens of refuge for people estranged from their own lands, and so was Bremen. It was a live center of trade and international communications

and inhabited by an intelligent class of thrifty merchants. Mr. and Mrs. Macchabæus stopped in Bremen for a while.

4. Converts first Here we meet with one of the startling
Spanish Protestant incidents in the life of Macchabæus.
Martyr.

Lorimer reveals to us the suggestive information, that while Macchabæus stayed in Bremen, on his way to Wittenberg, he gave evangelical instruction to San Roman⁽¹⁾, the first native Protestant Martyr of Spain⁽²⁾. The records of the Spanish Inquisition give evidence which appears to substantiate the truth of this, and Hauck⁽³⁾ supplies the detailed information regarding the life of San Roman and the incidents which led up to his instruction by the Scotsman, Macchabæus⁽⁴⁾. The story of San Roman is interesting.

(1) Lorimer can not have looked into the Spanish reports, as he spells the Spaniard's name Rornan, while it should be Roman, Fransisco de San Roman of Burgos.

(2) Lorimer, On the Scott. Ref., op. cit., pp. 119-120. One wishes that Lorimer had given us the references for the interesting bits of information in his book, but there are only very few, and none in this case. He may have run across the incident when he gathered source-material for his unpublished work on Patrick Hamilton and his planned, but never published, work on Alexander Alesius.

(3) Hauck, Dr. Albert, Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, Leipzig 1906, Vol. XVIII, p. 581.

(4) Hauck does not give the name of the Scotsman. Lorimer is the authority for that.

The efforts of the Inquisition in Spain, to suppress Lutheranism, had until this time been confined to foreigners. Then comes the case of San Roman. He was engaged in the merchant trade, and a merchant house in Antwerp sent him to Bremen to collect some debts. Here he visited an Evangelical church service and heard a sermon by Jacobus Probst, formerly a prior of the Augustinian Monastery in Antwerp. Deeply moved by the evangelical message San Roman hastened to the preacher, eager to learn more about evangelical Christianity. He stayed in Probst's home for three days, and a whole week was spent in the city. Whether Macchabæus met San Roman in Probst's home or elsewhere in the city, we do not know. But the fact is that the Spaniard, during the week, received further instruction in the Gospel by the Scottish Reformer.

5. Arrives in
Wittenberg, Nov.
1540.

Hardly did Macchabæus realize the significance of these days in Bremen and his meeting with San Roman. The Scotsman continued peacefully to Wittenberg, where he on November 25, 1540 matriculated at the University⁽¹⁾, but the Spaniard fared differently. He wrote about his experience in Bremen to an acquaintance in Antwerp, who in turn reported it to the Dominicans there. No sooner had

(1) Voigt, Otto, Dr. Johannes Bugenhagens Briefwechsel; in Kommission bei Léon Saunier, Stettin, 1888, p. 230, note to Nr. 101. Voigt also notes that Macchabæus came to Wittenberg from the Univ. of Cologne, as we have before contended: "-M. war von Köln, wo er Baccalaureus geworden, nach Wittenberg gekommen, wo er, am 25. November 1540, immatrikuliert", - Ibid.

San Roman, therefore, reached Antwerp and gone to rest before he was arrested and chained on hands and feet. Eight months he spent in a dreary dungeon before he was again released. Then he went to Louvain to visit another friend, a Spanish Dominican by the name of Enzinas. His friend did not approve that San Roman, without sacred orders and with so little knowledge and experience, engaged in preaching, wherefore he advised him to stay by his merchant business. San Roman promised that he would attempt to do so, but his ardent zeal for evangelical views left him no peace. He made his way to Regensburg, where the Emperor held a Diet. Three times he visited the Emperor Charles V, to give his testimony, and strangely the Emperor seemed favorably disposed towards him. San Roman, however, persisted in bothering him, and finally the Emperor lost patience, and when he in July 1541 left Regensburg for Italy and Spain he brought San Roman with him in chains. On October 13, they arrived at Mallorca and, as the Emperor was to proceed into North Africa, San Roman was given over to the Inquisition. He was brought to Valladolid, the capital of his homeland, Old Castile. As all attempts to make him recant proved in vain, he was sentenced to the stake. Archbishop Carranza⁽¹⁾ attended him at the

(1) Carranza followed later Prince Philip, the Consort of Queen Mary, to England and boasted of having in three years burnt, exiled, or reconciled, 30,000 heretics. (Footnote continued on page 93.)

place of execution and urged him to submit to the Church, but San Roman, unwavering in his testimony and ready to suffer for his faith, remained true to his convictions. He was led to the stake, and when the fire had been lit, he made a movement, which was interpreted that he was ready to give up, and the procedure was stopped. But San Roman cried: "Why do you rob me of my glory?" The fire was lit again, but the ferocious crowd pierced him with their swords, an occurrence which not infrequently took place at Spanish auto-de-fes⁽¹⁾.

6. How Macchabæus learned It is a fascinating incident the fate and influence of his Spanish convert. in the life of the Scotsman, Macchabæus, that he should be the means of instructing the first native Protestant martyr of Spain in the evangelical faith.

heretics there, and brought back 2 millions more, to the Church. The persecuted one - and his many fellow-witnesses during years to come - eventually won over their brilliant and celebrated persecutor, Archbishop Carranza, who himself was condemned a heretic in 1576. - Lea, Henry Charles, A History of the Inquisition of Spain, 4 Vols., MacMillan and Co., New York and London, 1907, Vol. II, pp. 49, 84.

(1) Lea, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 423-424, from Memoires de Fransisco de Enzinas, Vol. II, pp. 172-216, and Schäfer, Vol. III, pp. 9, 738.

Interesting it is to learn the direct significance of the testimony and martyrdom of Macchabeus's Spanish convert, and that Macchabeus himself so intimately should learn the fate of San Roman. When Enzinas at Louvain heard how his friend had sealed his evangelical faith, he visited his parents in Paris and hastened on to Wittenberg. Here he matriculated at the University, and stayed in the home of Melanchthon. Macchabeus had not yet left the city with its international fellowship; touching it must have been for him to hear of San Roman's faith and to see Enzinas there also. Enzinas's stay in Wittenberg proved highly significant. By 1543 he had translated the New Testament into Spanish, and on November 25th he personally handed a copy of it over to the Emperor. On December 13th he was arrested at the instigation of the Emperor's Chaplain, and spent over a year in prison. He managed to escape on February 1, 1545, and returned to Wittenberg. He kept close fellowship with Zwingli, Calvin, Bucer and especially Melanchthon. He died in Strasburg in December 1552. But he had given his people a translation of the New Testament⁽¹⁾.

(1) Hauck, op. cit., Vol. XVIII, p. 582.

C. The Continental Reformation and the work of the Reformers: 1539-1541.

In order fully to be able to appreciate the stay of Johannes Macchabæus on the Continent during the years from 1539 to 1541, inclusive, we must pause to review the events of the Reformation on the Continent and the work of the Reformers during those three years. Some of the happenings have undoubtedly been of singular significance to Macchabæus who, for the first time, was able to ^{part} take his freely on the issues of Protestantism, when he arrived in Germany and, especially, at Wittenberg.

1. During 1539. The year of 1539 saw, first, a truce established for fifteen months at Frankfurt between the League of Schmalkald, made up of the Protestant princes, and the Holy League, or the Catholic princes and the Emperor. Melanchthon was present at the

a. Truce of Frankfurt for 15 months. occasion, in April 1539(1). This

left room open for doctrinal discussions between the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics, to which we shall return later.

b. Negotiations for alliance between England and Prot. Germany Less fortunate were the negotiations, advocated so strongly by Cromwell, fail.

for an alliance between Henry VIII and the German Pro-

(1) Richard, James William, Philip Melanchthon, the Protestant Preceptor of Germany, 1497-1550; G.P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, New York and London, 1898, p. 263.

testant princes. The English Monarch might be able to turn affairs in his own country by diplomatic intrigues and shrewd schemes for his own gain, but the Reformers at Wittenberg could not be bought. They would like to see the alliance formed and had favorably received the English ecclesiastical delegates, among whom was Dr. Barnes. But they were not satisfied with the doctrinal aspect, the basic foundation, of the Reformation in England at this time. On March 26, 1539, Melanchthon wrote a letter to Henry VIII, designed to produce a good effect on the King, but it made agreement in doctrine the first condition of the religious-political alliance⁽¹⁾. The Reformers at Wittenberg had so far their own opinion of the English King⁽²⁾, and the scheme for the alliance failed.

c. Melanchthon
desires unity be-
tween Evangelicals.

The year is marked by an occasion
of great interest to us, namely,

that Melanchthon and Calvin met at Frankfurt, apparently in connection with the negotiations for the truce.

A friendship was made between them at this time, which continued all their lives. They discussed questions of church union and matters of discipline, and both agreed upon the Wittenberg Concord, which affirmed "that with the bread and wine the body and blood of

(1) Ibid., p. 264.

(2) Lindsay, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 341.

Christ are truly and substantially present, presented, and received".⁽¹⁾ The Concord had been composed in 1537 by Swiss and German Reformers as an attempt to bridge the chasm between the Reformed and the Lutheran Churches. Melanchthon is reported, in his conversation with Calvin, to have deplored "the obstinacy and despotism of certain of his own party"⁽²⁾. He was the conciliatory representative, who could have fellowship with other Reformers, although their views might vary on several points. He yearned for harmony between the Evangelicals on the basis of "the true consensus of the Catholic Church of Christ, as it is exhibited in the apostolic Scriptures, in the old canons, and by its writers of recognized authority"⁽³⁾. Macchabeus became, in this regard, a true disciple of Philip Melanchthon.

d. Melanchthon's Will,
and its doctrinal significance.

It was in the same year, that
Melanchthon, at the age of only 42,

when he felt his health declining and that the number of his remaining days might be few, wrote his Will.

The Will is significant to students of history because of the statement, which it contains, concerning Melanchthon's faith. It is truly evangelical: " - it is impiety to magnify our sins above the death of the Son of God.

(1) Richard, *Op. cit.*, p. 254.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 264.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 266.

This latter I magnify above my sins". Here again Melancthon affirms his stand on the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds and he informs us, that his doctrines are expressed in the Loci Communes, edition 1535, and the Commentary on Romans, edition 1537, and that he embraces the Wittenberg Concord's statement regarding the Lord's Supper⁽¹⁾, to which we have referred above. We mention this here, because we shall find later, that **Macchabeus**, years afterwards in Copenhagen, adheres to, lectures on and champions this statement.

2. During 1540. The year 1540 opened with a very sad case, implicating the Reformers in an unfortunate manner, an object of much discussion and comment among the

a. The sad Bigamy case, sanctioned by the Reformers. students and visitors at the international center, Wittenberg. That was the case of bigamy on the part of Philip of Hesse, secretly sanctioned by the Reformers. It was a terrible scandal to have inflicted upon the infant Church of Protestantism. The case is well known. Philip of Hesse had married when only nineteen years old, and confessed that he broke his vows of fidelity three weeks after the marriage. He lived, like most

(1) The Will is cited in Ibid., pp. 266-271.

princes and many of the prelates of the age, a life of flagrant immorality. His religion, however, did cause him a burdened conscience. In 1539 he contracted syphilis, then first epidemic in Europe. While convalescing, he fell in love with a seventeen year old girl and determined to marry her. The wretch secured Bucer to represent his case at Wittenberg, and the Reformers, for reasons that we cannot here discuss at length, decided to sanction a secret marriage with the girl, considering bigamy preferable to adultery. Everybody concerned in the negotiations promised to keep the marriage a secret, but, apparently, the proud mother-in-law, Frau von der Saal, demanded a public wedding as a condition of her consent to the marriage. Melancthon, Bucer and other "honorable men" were present on March 4th, when the wedding took place and was celebrated⁽¹⁾. But the affair provided in no time gossip for the common people and sad experiences for the Reformers. Charges and countercharges ensued. The unity, enthusiasm and consistency, with which the Reformers used to be able to encounter their enemies, were broken. The case, viewed on the background of the time, religiously and socially, can be understood, and

(1) Smith, Preserved, The Life and Letters of Martin Luther; Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1911, pp. 371-386, gives various letters in regard to the case.

yet, it shook the confidence of many in the judgement of the Reformers. Enemies of the Reformation made, of course, full play with the case to their advantage.

It was a sad year for Melanchthon. Luther rose above the mistake, but Melanchthon suffered sorely. His responsibility in the case weighed as a terrific burden on his mind and soul, and in June he fell dangerously ill at Weimar, on the way to a conference, called by the Emperor, at Hagenau. He had not been well for some time, as we have seen before, but it seems as if the bigamy case broke his health completely. He had lost consciousness, and the physicians pronounced him beyond human help. Luther was called, and there ensued that gripping scene in which Luther wrestles in prayer for his friend and co-worker and commands Melanchthon to return to health. Says Melanchthon: "If he had not come, I should certainly have died"(1). He was restored, and lived to work for another twenty years.

b. Melanchthon's
Confessio Variata,
of 1540 and the
Lord's Supper.

Next, we find him publishing the
altered Augsburg Confession in the

Confessio Variata, to which Lutherans

(1) Jacobs, Henry Eyster, Martin Luther, the Hero of the Reformation, 1483-1546; G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, New York and London, 1898, p. 336.

during Melanchthon's lifetime subsequently appealed as their confession. The Tenth Article interests us: In the unchanged confession of 1530/31 it reads: "Of the Lord's Supper they teach that the body and blood of Christ are truly present and are communicated to those that eat in the Supper; and they disprove those that teach otherwise"(1). In the Variata, it reads: "Of the Lord's Supper they teach that with the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ are truly present to those that eat in the Supper"(2). This brings it into harmony with the Wittenberg Concord, composed as a basis of agreement between the Swiss and the German Reformers. It was approved by Luther, but one may readily see, that it opens the way - as did the Wittenberg Concord - for a possible understanding between Reformed and Lutheran adherents(3). This was the sincere desire of Philip Melanchthon.

(1) Richard, op. cit., p. 285. The Latin rendering of the Tenth Article in the original confession is as follows: "De Cæna Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuantur vescentibus in Cæna Domini, et improbant secus docentes".

(2) Varianta reads: "De Cæna Domini docent quod cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur corpus et sanguis Christi vescentibus in Cæna Domini". Ibid., p. 285.

(3) Ibid., p. 288. Richard says: "-it would not be possible to interpret these words (of the Tenth Article in the Varianta) in a Calvinistic sense without substituting credentibus, "those that believe", for vescentibus, "those that eat" - - . It seems to us, however, that there would be no reason for Melanchthon to use the word, "credentibus", as he did not discuss here the prerequisite for participation in the Lord's Supper. It can hardly be denied, that Melanchthon's position is distinctly "crypto-calvinistic", for which he and his disciples - like Macchabeus - were later accused.

c. Luther works on revision of German Bible. Luther and members of the theological teaching staff at the University were

at work during those years, 1539-41, revising the German Bible⁽¹⁾, the group of co-working scholars popularly called the "Sanhedrin" at Wittenberg⁽²⁾.

d. The reaction at Wittenberg to Dr. Barnes' martyrdom. It was in 1540 that the sad news arrived in the city, that Dr. Barnes had suffered

martyrdom in England. Henry VIII had been seized by one of those spasmodic moods in which he had to exhibit his Supremacy over Roman Catholic and Protestant alike. Cromwell was beheaded, and, in the weak following, a group of leading papal adherents and protestant divines suffered cruel martyrdom, and among them the saintly Dr. Barnes. It must have caused a strange effect upon Alesius and Macchabeus to learn about Dr. Barnes' fate. Luther translated the confession of faith, which Dr. Barnes made at the stake, and published it with the following introduction, which gives us an impression of the reaction in Wittenberg:

"It is an especial joy to us to hear that our good, pious table-companion and guest has been so graciously called upon by God to shed his blood for His dear Son's sake and to become a holy martyr. Thanks

(1) Grisar, Hartmann, Luther, 6 Vols., translated from the German; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., London 1917, Vol. VI. p. 491.

(2) Hering, Hermann, Doktor Pomeranus, Johannes Bugenhagen, Ein Lebensbild aus der Zeit der Reformation; Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, Nr. 22; In Commissionsverlag von Max Niemeyer, Halle, 1888, p.126.

be to the Father of our dear Lord Jesus Christ, that He has permitted us to see again, as in the beginning, the times when Christians who have eaten and drunk with us, are taken before our eyes to become martyrs, which means to go to Heaven and become saints Dr. Barnes often told me: 'My King cares nothing for religion'. But he so loved his King and country that he was ready to endure anything, and was always meditating how to help England; for he was ever hoping that his king would turn out well at the last".(1)

3. During 1541. The year which Macchabæus spent in full at Wittenberg, 1541, was marked by signal events in which he undoubtedly took a keen interest as an observer.

a. Colloquies of Worms and Regensburg. Melanchthon's part. The first occasion of the year, that caused all Protestant Germany's and especially the Wittenbergers' most devoted attention, the Colloquies of Worms and of Regensburg. Once more the Catholics and the Protestants met to present their cases. Eck played the main part in representing the former, Melanchthon was the outstanding figure among the representatives for the latter. The Colloquy of Worms opened on January 14, 1541. The Protestants presented the Variata as the basis of the Colloquy. Eck noticed that the copy of the confession did not employ the same wording as the German original. Melanchthon answered that "the meaning was the same, though in the later copies milder and plainer words

(1) Jacobs, op. cit., p. 330.

were used". His skill in debate commanded the admiration of all. He was a true Evangelical. Eck sought once to entrap him by putting a difficult question before him. Melanchthon paused and said: "I will give you an answer to-morrow". "Oh", replied Eck, "there is no honor in that, if you cannot answer me immediately". Back came the memorable and decisive words from Melanchthon: "My good Doctor, I am not seeking my own glory in this cause, but truth. I say then, God willing, you shall have an answer to-morrow"(1).

From this Colloquy and its continuation in that of Regensburg, from April 5, 1541, we have some of the striking answers by Melanchthon, which later have become axiomatic aphorisms regarding the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper: "Nothing has the nature of a sacrament apart from the divinely appointed use". "Christ is not present for the sake of the bread, but for the sake of man". No wonder that Eck raved, got drunk and finally fell sick, never to return to the Colloquy, when confronted by Melanchthon's confounding skill and masterly logic, his religious position and his steadfastness. The Protestant leaders were enthusiastic in their praise of their leader, and it is easy to imagine the warmth of the reception at Wittenberg when the renowned professor,

(1) Richard, op. cit., pp. 289-290.

having been away on such important missions during the better half of a year, finally returned home in August. It is evident that the discussions of the Colloquies became the subjects of review and comment by the members of the University at Wittenberg.

b. Climax of Reformation reached. Protestantism has dogmatic consciousness. So far as the position of Protestantism was concerned now,

the Regensburg Colloquy marked the climax of the Reformation. The Emperor and the Curia were conciliatory, but would not recede from such practices and positions as Protestants regarded erroneous. The Reformation itself had gained such a distinct dogmatic consciousness and the backing of such political strength, that its course was marked out, and it could not deviate⁽¹⁾. Melanchthon's work in shaping the dogma of the Lutheran Church and its confessions far outweighs the part played by any one else during the Reformation. He was the Preceptor of Germany.

c. Calvin in power at Geneva. Soon after Melanchthon's return to

Wittenberg came the news that Calvin had been recalled to Geneva, returning on September 13th, to shape the Reformation of the city and its surroundings. He seems to have been at Worms to counsel with the Reformers about the matter, and

(1) Richard, op. cit., pp. 294-295.

Bucer urged him to Geneva⁽¹⁾. He ~~went~~^{went}, and the year marks thus the real start of another main historical branch of Protestantism. Melanchthon could have fellowship with Calvin, and the Swiss Reformers; Luther was not so minded. The situation at Geneva, in 1541, caused, of course, considerable comment at Wittenberg. Impressions regarding Reformed Protestantism were made upon Macchabæus, which made it impossible for him later to condemn its adherents, though his own position might be at stake. We attribute that trait in no small degree to the contagious liberal and conciliatory attitude of Philip Melanchthon. May it not be suggestive of Macchabæus's own theological position when he, this year, was proposed for a position at Strassburg? He did, at least, later introduce and represent - and defend - a distinct Crypto-Calvinistic point of view at Copenhagen, which did not suit the extreme Lutherans, but which persisted at the University during his lifetime, through the academic reign of his disciple, Niels Hemmingsen,^{and} through the first decade of the next century. The Scotsman's sojourn in Germany at this particular time played its part in shaping his views.

(1) Lindsay, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 125-127.

D. Johannes Macchabæus's Life while at Wittenberg.
November 1540 - February 1542.

1. The cosmopolitan
center, Wittenberg.

Johannes Macchabæus arrived at Wittenberg in November 1540 from the "exhausting and wearisome journeys", and his stay there for sixteen months was an appreciated rest. Wittenberg had attained fame and was, in reality, a cosmopolitan settlement. The decade, from 1536 to 1541, saw five and ^a/₁ half thousand students matriculate at the University, about three thousand of them during the latter half of the period. They came from North Germany, from Hungary, Siebenbürgen, Poland, Bohemia, the Balkan borders and Prussia, Sweden, Norway and Denmark⁽¹⁾. There was also a number, though never large, of students from England and Scotland. In the Album of the University of Wittenberg the following Scottish names appear: Johannes Nutrisen, Scotus, dioc. Sancti Andreæ, 18. Oct. 1519; Nicholas Botwynni Scotus, 1524; D. Alexander Alesius Scotus, Edinburgensis, Magister S. Andreæ, 7 Oct. 1533; Joannes Scotus, 1539; D. Joannes Macchabæus Scotus, Nov. 1540; Joannes Faithus Scotus; Gulterus Spalatinus Scotus, 1544; Wilhelmus Ramsius Scotus, Artium Magister S. Andreæ, Sept. 1544, and

(1) Friedensburg, Walter, Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg, Verlag von Max Niemeyer, Halle a. S., 1917, p. 242.

Jacobus Balfurius Scotus, Sept. 1544⁽¹⁾. The number of graduates was considerable and gives evidence of the far-reaching influence of Wittenberg for the Reformation. In 1542, 64 graduated with the Magister degree, in 1544, 71, and in 1547, 72. Before 1540, there had been 30 to 40 annually⁽²⁾. The University had chairs in Hebrew, Greek, Poetry, Grammar, Mathematics, Dialectics, Rhetoric, Physics and Moral Philosophy⁽³⁾. Luther, Melanchthon, Jonas, Bugenhagen, Cruciger and George Major were the outstanding names of the theologians at Wittenberg, when Macchabæus was there⁽⁴⁾.

2. Matriculated as Doctor. It is a curious incident, that Johannes Mac-

chabæus was matriculated in Wittenberg as Doctor⁽⁵⁾. Perhaps it is but a sign of the reputation he had, when arriving in Wittenberg, thus made evident by the secretary, or bursar, who registered his name. The same had taken place in connection with Alexander Alesius's matriculation some years before. Neither of them had, as yet, been promoted to the doctorate, but they may have been esteemed and considered at Wittenberg as teachers, or doctors, in the Evangelical Church. We take it as a sign of their reputed erudition,

(1) Förstmann, *Liber Decanorum*, etc., of Lorimer, *Precursors*, op. cit., p. 232, Note K.

(2) *Friedenburg*, op. cit., p. 243.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 182. (4) Their careers sketched in *Ibid.*, pp. 193-198.

(5) "Venerabilis vir D. Joannes Macchabæus Scotus, Bacularis Theologiæ Formatus Coloniensis". The possibility is, of course, that the Matriculation Roll which Förstmann has edited, in some instances, so far as certain names are concerned, may have been adjusted after the granting of degrees to students. We do not know.

reputation and former experience. They were not ordinary students coming to study, but Reformers tarrying in fellowship with the chief Reformers, and awaiting appointments in the Church.

3. Sharing friendship of Reformers and Scotsmen.

At Wittenberg, Macchabæus followed with keen interest not only the course of the Reformation in Germany and the neighboring lands, but shared the confidence of the Reformers themselves. The doors of Luther's spacious home, the former Augustinian Monastery, were open to strangers, and so were those of the home of Phillip Melanchthon. It was not infrequent that as many as twelve languages were spoken at the dinner-table at Melanchthon's house. Macchabæus had possibly visited Alesius at Leipzig during the year of 1541, or Alesius may have come to Wittenberg. There is evidence that both of them shared the intimate friendship of Melanchthon, as when three years later, Alesius wrote to Melanchthon, regarding the situation in Scotland and says: " - if you have heard any later news in Wittenberg by way of Denmark take care to communicate it to me, or to His Magnificence, our rector".⁽¹⁾ There is no doubt that Alesius, who the same year wrote his Appeal to the Scottish Nation for a reformation, thus refers to Macchabæus, who at this time, in 1544, received urgent calls

⁽¹⁾ The letter is preserved in the City Library of Hamburg. Cf. Lorimer, op. cit., p. 112-113.

from friends in Scotland to return to his native land to assist in the Reformation attempts under Wishart, as in due time we shall see. Another Scotsman at Wittenberg presently was John Faithus, or Fidelis, who was appointed Professor at the University of Frankfurt-on-the-Oder. Bugenhagen seems to have taken a special interest in Macchabeus.

4. Makes definite acquaintance with the Loci Communes.

Macchabeus employed the time to *become* thoroughly acquainted with the tenets of Protestant theology, and he took special interest in the Loci Communes, on which he later lectured at the University of Copenhagen. The Loci Communes, or Theological Common Places, were a summary of the leading doctrines of the Christian religion, which Melanchthon had published as early as 1521 in order to commend the Reformation to the learned. The Loci were merely heads of argument on which he proposed to lecture at the University. Melanchthon was only 24 years old, when he produced the Loci, but they ^{were} published in 17 editions during the following four years, and held their place as the leading text-book of theology for fifty years after the author's death in 1560. Melanchthon revised them finally in 1535 and repeatedly afterwards approved that edition as setting forth his views on Christian

doctrine⁽¹⁾.

5. Offered and declines position at Strassburg, 1541. Macchabeus wanted to ~~become~~ settled in a position suited to his tastes and vocation. In March 1541, he was proposed for a position at Strassburg, either as pastor or professor, but he had learned through Bugenhagen, who in 1539 had returned from Denmark, about the possibility of a chair of theology at the University of Copenhagen, and declined. He is recorded to have expressed, that his "layman-language", that is, his Lower-Saxon German dialect, the German which he had acquired during his two years' stay on the Continent, would be less noticeable in Denmark than in Strassburg. His correspondence in German gives some reasonable evidence in favor of that position! It is also quite possible that the reputation which King Christian III of Denmark had for his zeal for the Reformation and liberality towards the learned men in the Church, even the Wittenberg Reformers, caused Macchabeus to decline the offer at Strassburg. No negotiations went on for such a position as seemed most desirable to him⁽²⁾.

6. A son, Christian, born on Christmas Day, 1541. He had his reasons for desiring to be settled. A son was born to him and his

(1) Vogt, Bugenhagens Briefwechsel, op. cit., p. 230, Notes to Nr. 101.

(2) Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 588.

wife on Christmas Day 1541, December 25th, who received the name Christian Macchabæus. We wonder if the reason, that these Scottish parents named their firstborn and only son Christian, was the favour which they were about to receive from Christian, King of Denmark? Or was it because of the day being the celebrated birthday of Christ in the flesh? Both facts may have prompted their choice. It was a happy experience to the parents and, yet, trying to Mrs. Macchabæus without much of a home and only foreign women to assist her. It was no less trying for her to set out for Denmark, in spite of their happiness, with a two or three months old baby in February or March 1542. The son, their only child, was also destined for a career of greatness in Denmark. Having received a thorough education at home he matriculated in the University of Copenhagen when only 13 years old, and in the University of Wittenberg a year later. He was eventually knighted by the Danish King, became Professor at the University and foreign delegate of Denmark⁽¹⁾. His life-story will be sketched later.

(1) Johannes Macchabæus died in 1557, so it must have been Christian Macchabæus who is mentioned by Prof. Baxter of St. Andrews, [Records of Scott. Ch.Hist.Soc'y. 1934, Vol. V, Part II, p. 102, Note,] as probably having interviewed the Earl of Rothes for Chr. III in 1574. However, Chr. III died in 1559, which forces us to conclude that either the year in 46' Report, Deputy Keeper of Public Records, App. 2, p. 62 (from which Prof. Baxter has obtained the data), is wrong; or, rather that the name of the Danish King should have been Frederick II, and that it was Christian Macchabæus who in Scotland, in 1574, interviewed the Earl of Rothes. The Earl of Rothes had visited Denmark in 1551. - See p. 217.

and the following year in the beginning.

The year 1541 thus ended happily in the family life of Macchabæus, and prospects were bright for the future. The first month of the new year brought good news from the King of Denmark.

E. Called to Denmark by King Christian III, January 1542.

1. State of Re-
formation in De-
nmark.

King Christian III of Denmark had been present at the Diet of Worms when Luther so fearlessly opposed ecclesiastical and secular authorities for the cause of Reformation in Germany. He highly esteemed Luther, became a strong Lutheran and determined, when chosen King, to establish the Reformation in Denmark. Having defeated the opposing rival factions in the Kingdom, upon his predecessors' death, he decided to settle his account with the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics. He imprisoned the Bishops, confiscated their estates, and, finally, having broken the external power of the Roman Church, called Dr. Johannes Bugenhagen Pomeranus from Wittenberg into the country, who on August 12th, 1536, crowned the King and, on Sept. 2, ordained seven Superintendents, who later were called Bishops, for the new Evangelical Lutheran Church in Denmark⁽¹⁾.

Bugenhagen shaped the Reformation Church in Denmark according to definite conservative Wittenberg principles. The old ritual was largely preserved, but Lutheran doctrine and preaching were introduced in Church

(1) Hering, Bugenhagen's Ein Lebensbild, op.cit., pp. 111-116

and schools, and the University of Copenhagen was started anew along new lines. Luther, whom the King gave a report of the proceedings of introducing the Reformation in Denmark, sanctioned the course taken against the Bishops, as they had persecuted the Word of God and brought confusion into the secular regime, and asked only that the King secure such support to the new Church as was necessary⁽¹⁾.

2. Johannes Bugenhagen
Pomeranus, advisor to
Danish King.

Johannes Bugenhagen was on very intimate terms of friendship with the King, and, after his return to Wittenberg in 1539, continued to be the King's advisor on ecclesiastical affairs. He supplied Denmark with a number of men, Danes who had studied at Wittenberg and several of foreign extraction. Melanchthon's correspondence with Christian III was large, amounting to 37 letters during the years 1546 to 1558⁽²⁾. But Bugenhagen's was no less, as his "Briefwechsel", edited by Vogt, numbers 36 letters from Christian III to him, and 45 letters from him to the King during the years 1536 to 1556. ⁽³⁾

3. The Negotiations
for Macchabæus's new
position.

In these letters the negotiations which led to Johannes Macchabæus's call to

(1) Ibid., pp. 111-112.

(2) Melanchthonis Opera, Corpus Reformatorum, editit C. G. Bretschneider, Halis Saxonium, Apud C. A. Schwetschke et Filium, 1837, contains that number of letters to the King.

(3) Vogt, Bugenhagens Briefwechsel, op. cit., cites this number.

Denmark may be traced. On March 13, 1541, Christian III wrote to Bugenhagen regarding three vacant positions in Denmark. The first one was that of Bishop of Slesvig, where Bishop Gottschalk had recently died. The King hoped very much that Bugenhagen himself would accept the position, and "we shall take care and see to it that neither you nor your wife shall suffer any want". But, if Bugenhagen did not wish to accept the Bishopric, the King continues, would he advise him regarding another "learned and courageous, renowned and esteemed person" for the position. Next, the King repeats his desire to have Bugenhagen send him a Royal Chaplain, and, thirdly, probably having the chair of theology in mind, asks for "a pious, learned and Christian man - who must be capable of giving us counsel in ecclesiastical matters - and whatever he may demand in remuneration, we shall graciously give him and pay"⁽¹⁾. The faculties of theology at the new Lutheran state universities were the supreme courts in matters ecclesiastical and the vanguards of the Reformation within their respective countries. So was the Theological Faculty at Copenhagen, and there is no doubt that the King with the third position, mentioned above, had the professorship of Theology in mind.

(1) Ibid., p. 220. The Letter is written in the German of the day,

Bugenhagen wrote the King three letters, receipt of which the King acknowledges in ^a letter from Copenhagen on May 15, 1541. Bugenhagen had not desired to remove from his work in Germany to become Bishop in Slesvig. The King realizes that Bugenhagen "is great enough Bishop where he is - and - we shall then let the matter rest", but asks for "another fine, suitable and learned man, who is fit for such work, or who might become Royal Chaplain"(1).

: Bugenhagen writes again, first to the Danish Prime Minister (Kansler) Johan Friis, and on December 5th to the King. He regrets, that he has been unable to secure a suitable chaplain to the King, but recommends this time two men, one for the Professorship, the other for the Royal Chaplaincy. The latter is a Dutchman, from the Netherlands, Poul von Nimwegen, who, however, continued his studies a couple of years yet before he went to serve at the Danish Court(2). The other, whom Bugenhagen recommends for the Chair of Theology, is Johannes Macchabeus, a "learned and pious man, of good judgements, who is well able to serve as Professor of Theology at the University in Copenhagen", and that Johannes Macchabeus himself preferred this to the position offered him at Strassburg(3).

(1) Idem., pp. 223-224.

(2) Idem., p. 237, Note to Nr. 107.

(3) Content of letter, from Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 588.

4. Receives Call from
the King, Jan. 1542.

The King replied on January 6, 1542,
from his castle at Gottorp in

Slesvig. He knows, says he, that it is not Bugenhagen's fault, when, so far, no Royal Chaplain has been secured, regrets that no one had reported to him that Bugenhagen had recommended Macchabæus, the Scot, to Prime Minister Friis. But, he continued, he will now send his own secretary, Hermann Schele, to make the necessary arrangements with Macchabæus for his coming and to take him and his family to Copenhagen. He desires, though, that Macchabæus be promoted to Doctor of Theology in order to serve at the University. So far as the Dutchman is concerned, if he cannot use him, he will return him or find him another job.⁽¹⁾ Bugenhagen, accordingly, had him stay for another period of study before sending him to Denmark.

Macchabæus received the happy news from Denmark, through Bugenhagen, in January 1542. The King's Secretary arrived, and suitable arrangements were made. Luther and Melanchthon were informed and gave the arrangement their hearty support. All that was left before Macchabæus could set out on his new mission, was promotion to the Doctorate.

(1) Ibid., pp. 227-228.

F. Promoted to Doctor of Theology, February 1542.

1. The Securing of New statutes for the theological faculty
the Doctorate at
Wittenberg. at the University of Wittenberg in 1533

made some changes regarding the granting of the degree of Doctor. It was not made dependent upon the attainment of all the lower academic grades, but, instead, the candidate had to have had six years' lectures on Exegesis of the Prophetic and Apostolic writings, at Wittenberg or some other evangelical University⁽¹⁾.

This arrangement was undoubtedly made to accommodate the number of men who came to study at Wittenberg after years of work in other universities at home or abroad. So far as the formal arrangements were concerned, then Macchabeus held the theological degree from the University of Cologne, and, having submitted to the test "pro Licentiate in Sacra Theologia", he could proceed to the Doctorate. His erudition, reputation and *experience* and his new position entitled him to the degree^{at} any time. The proceedings for the promotion went on speedily.

2. Proclamation of On February 3, 1542, Macchabeus appeared
M.'s Promotion to
Doct. of Theol. for the degree of Licentiate in Sacred
Theology, Luther presiding at the occasion⁽¹⁾.

(1) Friedensburg, Geschichte der Universität Witt., op.cit., pp. 186-187.

(2) Förstmann, Liber Decanorum facult. theol., edit. 1838, p. 32, ref. in Dr. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel, Leipzig, 1923. Vol., XVIII, Nachträge und Ergänzungen zu allen Bänden, p. 71, Note 1.

On February 5th, intimation was made by Luther, Dean of the Theological Faculty, of the approaching promotion. The eulogy of Johannes Macchabæus's promotion had, without a doubt, been composed by Melancthon, but was read before the University assembly by the Dean. It follows:

THE PROCLAMATION BY LUTHER OF JOH. MACCHABÆUS'S
PROMOTION TO DOCTOR OF THEOLOGY.(1)

University of Wittenberg, February 5, 1542.

The Dean⁽²⁾ of the Faculty of the theological College:

"How beautiful are the feet of those who bring good tidings of peace⁽³⁾, said the heavenly voice, when it commended to us the servants of the Gospel and pointed out to us the greatness of the Grace of God, in as much as the Light shines in the Church through capable teachers who, certainly, are compelled to endure a heavy burden and very bitter trials. On that account, Paul admonishes us to reverence and cherish them with especial kindness. For his words, written to the Thessalonians in the fifth chapter, verse 4⁽⁴⁾, are well known: "esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake.

(1) We have translated the Proclamation from the Latin version in Dr. Martin Luther's Briefwechsel, op. cit., Vol. 18, pp. 71-72. It is printed originally in: Scriptorum publice propositorum .. in Academia Wittenbergensi ab. anno 1540 usque ad annum 1553, Tomas Primus, Wittenbergae, Anno 1560, Bl. 60 and 61., and in: Corp. Ref. IV, 770 (1, Febr. 1542), and in reference above, of 1923.

(2) Luther was Dean of the Theol. Fac. from 1535 and, without interruption, till his death. Melancthon composed generally all such Proclamations during the Deanship of Luther. See Dr. M. L.'s Briefwechsel, op. cit., Vol. 18, p. 88, Note.

(3) From Isa. 52, 7.

(4) / It is not the text of 1.Thess.5,4, which is cited here, but verse 13.

Since, then, Johannes Macchabeus has been called by Christian, King of Denmark, and has desired to be appointed to the ministry of the Gospel, he will, because of his reputation and piety and outstanding courage, to-morrow be promoted to the degree of Doctor. Wherefore we desire, that Doctors, Magisters and teachers, who reverence ministers of the Gospel and reckon their "feet to be beautiful", should meet together to hear his testimony, which is a wholesome and pleasant task and service. For the piety and learning of Macchabeus are so great, that he has been called - not by the counsel of men, but by the Grace of God - to the function of teaching the Gospel among those about whom Ephesians 4 is written: some were given by Christ to be pastors, others teachers. (1)

Besides, we owe something to the Scottish Nation. For the disciples of the Apostles brought the Gospel immediately into Germany, the Apostles being from the outset wanderers in the world. (For Maternus, the disciple of Peter, taught the Argentini(2), Lucius Cyrenus in Augusta Tiberia, which is now Regensburg, Crescens, the Mogunti(3), Clemens, the Meti(4), Marcus, companion of Paul, in Passaw(5)): Nevertheless, when later the churches had been destroyed by the forces of the Henetti and the Huns, the Scots with great toil erected them again, in every way possible. Wherefore it is right to befriend Macchabeus, also on account of his people. 1. February 1542". (6)

On February 6th, 1542, the solemn ceremony of promotion took place (7), and the Scottish Dominican became a Doctor in the Protestant Church, to serve in Denmark.

(1) Eph. 4, 11.

(3) Mainz.

(5) East Germany.

(2) Strassburg region.

(4) Metz.

(6) The text says that J.M. is to be promoted to-morrow: "cras ornabitur gradu Doctoris", so the date should be Febr. 5, 1542. (See Drews, p. Disputationen Dr. L.L.'s in den Jahren 1535-1545, Göttingen 1895, p. 636, Note). Melancton has ~~it~~ probably jotted down the date on which he composed it.

(7) Rördam, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 589 puts the date on Febr. 9th on the basis of certain refs. in footnotes. The text itself, however, says Febr. 6th.

3. Macchabæus, with wife and child, leaves for Denmark with the King's Secretary.

Shortly afterwards, the Macchabæus-family set out for their new work and home. Escorted and cared for by the King's Secretary, the journey was made as comfortable as then possible. They went North to Hamburg and soon crossed into Denmark, to which Slesvig then belonged, and we have reason to conjecture that they stopped, at the King's request, at the Gottorp Castle, where Christian III temporarily resided. For on March 25, 1542, the King writes to one of the high officials of the country, most probably the Master of the Royal Household (Rigshovmester), Eske Bilde, as follows:

" - we are sending to you a Doctor, whom we have secured from Wittenberg to lecture in the University of our city of Copenhagen; and we ask you and command that you represent Us and accompany him to the University and promote him among the learned men and grant him such favors as the other lecturers receive".(1)

4. Favorably received at Copenhagen.

There is no doubt, that Macchabæus found a friendly reception at Copenhagen, judging from the fact that the Professors, on his arrival, presented him 50 Thaler to aid in the expenses of the journey. Rumors, however, somehow got to Wittenberg, that the Professors at the University in Denmark had

(1) Copied from Langebek's Diplomatorium; c. the Danish translation in Rördam, Ibid., Vol.III, p. 589.

excluded him from their meetings. Bugenhagen wrote about it to the King, who in turn asked the Professors. The Consistorium of the University declared then, in December 1542, that the rumors were absolutely false and decided that Macchabeus himself should go to the King and so declare. . The esteem, in which he was held by colleagues, the favor, which he gained among the students, were signally acknowledged by the fact that, within less than two years, the Scotsman had been elected Dean of the Faculty of Theology and was, in 1544, chosen to be Rector of the University, an honor bestowed upon him again in 1549⁽²⁾.

This, however, takes us too far in our narration of events. We shall first see how far the Reformation had really been established in Denmark, and what was still to be done.

5. Finally at
Place of Life-
work.

The place of real life-work had finally been reached. Little had the Scotsman ever

thought, that Denmark would adopt him, and that here the crowning years of his life were to be spent. Nor could it ever have entered even the imaginations of AGNESE Mattheson in Sutherland, that such should be the course of experience for her. The road of life had

(1) Ibid., p. 589.

not been easy for Macchabæus so far. But it had done its part in shaping the man. His life was singularly enriched by the experience of some stage of Reformation in four countries. It was not a religious amateur, who arrived in Denmark to take a part in mere daily duties in the University or Church, but a distinct personality, whose experience far outweighed any of the contemporary leaders in the Church of his adopted country. His comparatively short period of work, 15 years, commands attention. He was deeply respected. His influence in Denmark during the infancy of the Reformation Church has never been fully realized. Macchabæus must be classed among the pioneers in the Protestant Reformation.

The work of Macchabæus in Denmark, from 1542 till his death in 1557, will, however, be the subject of Part II of this treatise.

END OF PART I.

PART II. DR. JOH. MACCHABÆUS'S WORK IN DENMARK. 1542-1557.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ESTABLISHING OF THE DANISH REFORMATION AND THE WORK
TO WHICH DR. MACCHABÆUS WAS CALLED.

A. The Establishing of the Reformation in Denmark.

1. The preliminary work. In order fully to be able to appreciate the

work of Johannes Macchabæus in Denmark, it is necessary to review the Reformation of that country in general and the situation at the University of Copenhagen in particular. The first chapter will be devoted to this.

The Reformation in Denmark owes its establishment generally to the same factors as in other lands with State Churches. Humanism prepared the minds of the

a. Places and thinking people of the day; the abuses leaders in the Reformation. in the Roman Catholic church aroused severe criticism and popular opposition; direct evangelical preaching pointed the way to the Reformation; awakening nationalism lent its hearty support, and political expediency established it.

The new religious movement from Wittenberg spread quickly into Denmark, mainly through men who had studied under Luther and Melanchthon. It began as a popular movement in the southern part of the peninsula.

of Jutland⁽¹⁾. Two thrifty cities of commerce in this

- (1) South district, Husum and Haderslev, were won for Jutland. the Reformation during the years 1522 to 1525.

Herman Tast, with the support of the burghers, led the cause in Husum. The Reformation in Haderslev was of special significance, as an evangelical theological school for the training of preachers was immediately established here. Two Germans, Eberhard Weidensee and Johan Wenth, were the instructors, and among the men who here received their instruction in evangelical Christianity two names must be mentioned: Claus Mortensen Tøndebinder and Hans Olufsen Spandemager, the celebrated Reformers of Malmø.

- (2) Viborg. The second district in which the Reformation had succeeded before its formal national establishment was centered in the city of Viborg, where the work was led by the famous Hans Tavsén. He was born in 1494, entered at an early age the monastic order, studied and taught at the University of Rostock from 1516 to 21, and visited the Universities of Louvain and Wittenberg from 1522 to 1524. He was called home by his Order and sent to the monastery of the Brethren of St. John

(1) The section on The Establishing of the Danish Reformation is based on the following general sources: Andersen, J. Oskar, Reformationens Begyndelse og Hans Tavsén, Diakonissestiftelsens Aarbog 1925-26, København 1926. Andersen, J. Oskar, "Overfor Kirkebruddet", Kirke-Leksikon for Norden, Vol. III, pp. 713-719. Helweg, Ludvig N., Den danske Kirkes Historie til Reformationen, Vol. II, Part 2, København 1870. Neiliandam, Michael, Den danske Reformations Historie, G. E. C. Gads Forlag, København 1936.

in Viborg, the capital of Jutland. So far, he had been greatly in sympathy with the Humanists who wished to reform the Church from within. In 1526 his attitude must have changed in favour of a complete reformation. He was excluded from the monastery obviously because of his evangelical position. But the preaching which he had done before in the church he continued out-of-doors. The Word of God, not the Church, had become the seat of authority for him. He was joined by the citizens of Viborg. They sent, the same year, a deputation to the King, Frederick I, who issued Hans Tavsén a royal letter of protection, thus placing him outside papal jurisdiction. Another reformer in Viborg, Jörgen Jensen Sadolin, was granted the same privilege and set up an evangelical theological school for young preachers. In 1528 the movement for a complete reformation was so strong that evangelical worship was introduced into the church, ^{superfluous} churches were torn down, the Franciscan and Dominican churches were turned into Parish Churches for Tavsén and Sadolin. In 1530 the Cathedral Church's service was changed along evangelical lines. The people carried the movement. The Reformation had succeeded in Viborg.

(3) Malmö The third place, which became a center for the work of the Reformation, was Malmö in Southern Sweden, which then, like South-Jutland, Slesvig and

Holstein and Norway, belonged to Denmark. Malmö was a very strategic point of commerce with maritime connections with foreign countries, a city of six thousand people.

Lutheran tracts and copies of the Bible in the vernacular prepared the way for the evangelical movement here, as in other trading centers by the sea. In 1527 Claus Mortensen Tøndebinder began to preach the Lutheran teachings in Malmö. He was assisted by Hans Olufsen Spandemager, formerly a member of a monastic order in the city. The Archbishop of Lund, Aage Sparre, commanded them to leave the city. *They obeyed, but* returned soon. From 1528 the work for the Reformation progressed rapidly. The Burgemaster, Jörgen Kok, supported the evangelical preachers. The citizens demanded of the catholic clergy and the monastic orders that they reform, or leave. Here, also, an evangelical theological school was established for preachers. The Dutchman, Frands Vormordsen, who later became a superintendent (bishop) in the reformed church in Denmark, and Oluf Crysostomus, formerly instructor and later professor at the University of Copenhagen, and Peder Laurensen were teachers at the school. Laurensen, a former member of the monastery of the Carmelites in Assens, was the most significant figure among the teachers. He published in 1530 an elaborate account of the work of the Reformation in

Malmö, "the Malmö-Book"⁽¹⁾, the most valuable contemporary document concerning the development of the Reformation in that part of the country. From Malmö the movement spread to Helsingborg, Landskrona, and southwards through the country.

(4) In Copenhagen. The work for a Reformation in Copenhagen, the Danish capital, went on as definitely as in the places already mentioned. But here the progress was largely determined by the developments in the country as a whole. In 1529 the King called Hans Tavsén to Copenhagen to preach in the Nicolai Church. The Roman Catholic clergy protested against his work, but in vain. Hans Tavsén won the people and the city council. In November 1530 the magistrates wrote the King that if the Mass were not abolished the peace of the city could no longer be guaranteed. This proved to be the truth. A crowd of Lutherans, led by the burgomaster, Ambrosius Bogbinder, during Christmas 1530, attacked the cathedral, the Church of our Lady, and in the general fashion of the time here as elsewhere they wrought destruction inside the church. The city, however, did not see the Reformation formally established

(1) Rörðam, H. Fr. (Edit.), Malmöbogen af Peder Laursen, printed in Malmö 1530; København 1868.

until the time when it was decreed for the whole country.

b. The attitude and the Enactments of Danish Monarchy towards the Reformation.

It is significant to note the gradual decline of the papal authority in Denmark and the building of a national Church. From our study so far it is obvious that various factors, other than religious ones, were at work, in favour of the Reformation and of a new definition of the relationship between Church and State in Denmark.

The medieval doctrine of the Church's authority was that the Papacy comprised the highest authority in both ecclesiastical and secular matters. This meant practically that the Bishops had not only the power of ordination (ordo), but also the control (iurisdictio) over the secular affairs of their bishoprics. The latter authority included also, according to Canonical law, the office of teaching (magisterium). It must be remembered, furthermore, that the medieval State had privileged the Church with the protection of its rights and property and granted it its own courts. The power of the Church in the secular affairs of the country had obviously to be taken into account by any royal monarch. (1)

(1) Andersen, J. Oskar, "Da vor Kirke skulde ordnes 'evangelisk'", Dansk Kirkeliv medens Tiderne Skifter, pp. 40-47, G. E. C. Gads Forlag, København 1933, p. 41.

(1) Christian II, King Christian II (1513 - 23) desired 1513 - 1523.

to change this situation in Denmark.

He was a Humanist and an opportunist. Money meant power, and when the papal delegate, Archimbold, came to Denmark in 1517 to sell Indulgences, Christian II granted him the privilege for 100.000 Kroner. The King was, however, anxious to reform the life and work of the clergy and to make laws for that purpose. Many churches had preaching only every third or fourth Sunday, and there were cases where only two priests were available for 14 to 16 parishes⁽¹⁾. The King's primary interest, however, was to strengthen the authority of the Crown and to create a national Danish Catholic Church. Attempts in such directions created enemies on both sides among the nobility of the land and among the adherents of the papacy, and the King was forced to leave the country in 1523.

(2) Frederik I, The new King, Frederik I, a son of 1523 - 1533.

Christian I, had to sign a declaration guaranteeing the privileges of the Church and its servants and promising to punish Lutherans in property and life⁽²⁾. But times were changing, and when King

(1) Neillendam, op. cit., p. 66.

(2) Ibid., p. 42.

Frederik in 1526 issued a letter of protection for the reformer, Hans Tavsén, he laid the first brick for the building of the Reformation. He allied himself with the attitude of the people, and placed Hans Tavsén outside the jurisdiction of the Church. The King and the Council of State, in which the Bishops sat, met in Odense the same year. The clergy represented the strongest financial power in Denmark. Were they to give way to an heretical movement? They charged the King with disloyalty towards the Church, whose protector he was. But the result of the gathering was, that the Bishops were no longer necessarily to be recognized by the Pope in order to hold a bishopric in Denmark, but only by the Archbishop in Lund. The money thus saved was to be used for the defence of the country! The King claimed it his duty to protect all people in the land from oppressing factions, and in December of the same year, he issued another letter of protection to the Lutheran preacher and reformer, Jörgen Jensen Sadolin!

Another Council of State was held in 1527 in Odense. The representatives of the Church demanded action against the disobedient Lutheran preachers and protection for the Roman Catholic wandering friars. The King replied, that he had jurisdiction over life and property, but not over people's ^{souls.} It was decided that

all preachers were to preach according to the Word of God, that members of monastic orders were free to leave the monasteries, if they so desired, and monks and nuns were granted freedom to marry. From 1527 onwards, there was room for both Roman Catholics and Lutherans in Denmark.

(3) Christian III, King Frederik I died in the spring of 1534/36.

1533. Civil war arose between the adherents of the exiled King, Christian II, and those of Christian III to determine who was to secure the vacant throne. It was really a religious war. Christian II, whose wife was a sister of Charles V, represented the Roman Catholics and he had in exile returned to the fold of the Roman Church. He secured, however, the aid of the farmers in Jutland who remembered him as friendly to the evangelical movement. The secular members of the Council of State, the Gentry of Jutland and the Nobles of Fynen, supported Christian III, who definitely favored the cause of the Reformation.

c. The Dethroning of the Catholic Church in Denmark, 1536. The struggle lasted three years, and ended in a victory for Christian III

and his forces. But the question immediately arose as to how he was to pay off the hired German soldiers and the mariners who had served him?

His treasury was empty, and taxation of an impoverished people was hopeless. The only wealthy institution in the country was the Roman Catholic Church. Two fifths of the land was in its hands. It was obviously useless to expect the Bishops to pay the debts of the King, who had fought against their interests. The King knew this and made his plans accordingly. A Coup d'Etat was the only way out and was planned by the King and his Council of War in the evening of August 11, 1536. The Bishops of Roskilde, Lund and Ribe, who were visiting in Copenhagen, were imprisoned early next morning. A few hours later the King gathered the secular members of the Council of State, who signed a declaration to the effect that no present or future bishop was ever to have any political power in the Kingdom and that the Gospel of the Word of God was to be freely preached. The remaining bishops were also imprisoned, and the King annexed their property, castles and lands to the Crown, as had already been done in Sweden in 1527. The Roman Catholic Church was deprived of its secular powers in Denmark. It had been definitely dethroned. Neiiendam quotes rightly the words of Professor J. Oskar Andersen concerning the defeat of the Roman Church: "It fell without honor, and no martyr-spirit was exhibited by its representatives in the time of adversity"⁽¹⁾. The way was cleared for the establishing of the Reformation in Denmark.

(1) Neiiendam, op. cit., p. 98.

2. The formal Establishing of the Evangelical Church in Denmark.

The successful Coup d'Etat of Christian III meant that the regime of the country was no longer to be dependent on the Archbishop and the Bishops, but was to rest with the King and the secular Council of State. It was fortunate for the cause of the Reformation that Christian III personally was a warm advocate of the Evangelical movement; otherwise the fate of the new church might have been totally different. Christian III could be trusted not only in his plans to break the power of the old church, but also in his aim to build the new, and there seems good reason to believe that it was the example of the Danish King that inspired Luther's decisive dictum: huius regio eius religio, and his daring principle of vesting the supreme authority of the Church in the ruler of the State.

a. The Assembly of Evangelical Preachers before Convocation of Parliament.

The Danish evangelical preachers, however, realized that this was their opportunity, and a meeting of "Preachers and Servants of the Word of God from Zealand, Skaane and Jutland" was called in September 1536, a month previous to the convocation of Parliament. This first gathering of the evangelical leaders in a corporate body from the whole country proved significant for the ensuing decision of Parliament. When the King called representatives from the Cathedral chapters to

confer on the ecclesiastical problems, the evangelical preachers presented their views regarding a new ecclesiastical establishment in a supplication to the King. They advocated a uniform evangelical worship in the churches on the basis of the Word of God, the founding of a university with instruction especially in the Bible and in the Hebrew and the Greek languages, and schools in every city and town of the country. They asked for a preaching ministry to be supported by the parishes, that a superintendent, or visitor, be appointed to supervise the work of the ministers in each geographical district, determined by the former bishoprics. The Superintendent was to be elected by the preachers in the district, but to receive his appointment from the King. They, furthermore, demanded a supreme person, or court, for all ecclesiastical affairs. The King and the secular authorities were to judge in all clerical cases of secular character. The ceremonies in the Church were to be uniform all over the country. The hospitals, formerly under the monasteries, were to be continued, and the income from property designated for the sick and the poor was to be used for the purposes for which it had been donated. They desired that the Church in all things should ~~now~~ act according to the Word of God(1).

(1) Andersen, J. Oskar, "Da vor Kirke, etc.", op. cit., pp. 48-49, and Neiliendam, op. cit., p. 100.)

b. The Enactments of Parliament, Oct. 1536. The Convocation of Parliament met from October 15 - 30, 1536: 400

Nobles, 200 delegates from the cities, and 500 representatives from the rural districts were present, but the clergy was not represented. The Supplication of the evangelical ministers was then seen not to have been in vain. A tribunal had been erected before the city house, and on October 30, the concluding day of the Convocation of Parliament, the King published two important documents: First, an accusation against the Bishops; secondly, a Recess, or constitution, setting forth the new law for secular and ecclesiastical affairs in Denmark. The

(1) The Accusations against the Rom. Cath. Bishops. accusation against the bishops proved, of course, to be popular. They were charged with hindering the decisions of the King and with responsibility for the war of succession which had proved necessary in order that he might secure the crown. They were accused of political intrigues, tyranny and neglect of duty. The Archbishop, especially, was sentenced for persecuting the messengers of God with fire, water and stone. Other bishops were accused of being the enemies of the Gospel and of retaining the tax due the King. The indictment was received by the people present with loud cries of approval. The Bishops were punished by the confiscation of their

lands, which were placed in the Crown. The King's Crown patrimony increased three fold with this decision.

(2)The Recess
and its Contents.

The Recess, the part of it which deals with ecclesiastical matters, is of primary interest to us. It makes no mention of a "founding" of a new Church, nor does it state that the Roman Church no longer existed in Denmark. It deals with decisions which had been made for the remaining independent national Church, as yet without bishops. It determined that evangelical Superintendents, soon afterwards called Bishops, were to supervise the work of the pastors and to see that the whole population was served with the holy Gospel and educated in the evangelical Christian faith. Uniformity of worship was decreed. Schools were to be established and hospitals to be retained. The parishes were still to pay the Tithe, one part to be devoted to the poor, another to the Church, and the third to the King, for the payment of the salaries of the professors at the university, the superintendents and the teachers of schools. Thus the evangelical preachers' Supplication had been taken into account. Nothing was done as yet regarding uniformity in ceremonies, the university or the monasteries, cathedral chapters, or benefices and lands of the clergy. The King was pledged "above all to love God and to strengthen, lead on, put into effect, protect and defend

God's holy Word and teaching, to the honor of God and the increase of the holy Christian faith"⁽¹⁾. This left to the King both the main influence upon, and the solving of the remaining problems of the Church⁽²⁾.

c. The general church council and the new Church Ordinance. The first thing which the King consequently did, was to call a

general church council to deal with these questions.

It began its work on January 6, 1537, and among its members we find Hans Tavsan, Jörgen Sadolin, Frands Vormordsen and Peder Laurensen. They had before them Melanchthon's handbook for pastors and some of Bugenhagen's church ordinances. Their work was finished by spring, and the King forwarded a copy of the Ordinatio Ecclesiastica to Luther, at the same time begging to "borrow" Bugenhagen for a while. The latter request was granted, and Bugenhagen arrived in Denmark in July with the revised Church Ordinance⁽³⁾, which finally was finished in Latin and dated September 2, 1537, the day of the consecration of the Superintendents. It was published in Danish in 1539 under the title: "An Ordinance, how the Worship of the Church is to be performed in the realm of Denmark, Norway and in the duchies of Slesvig

(1) Cf. J. O. A. p. 53.

(2) Andersen, J. O., "Da vor Kirke, etc.", op. cit., pp. 53-54.

(3) Ordinance is the technical term for constitution. It will be used in that sense whenever reference is made to the constitution of the Danish Lutheran Church.

and Holstein"(1).

The Church Ordinance⁽²⁾ deals with teachings, ceremonies, schools, support of the ministry and the poor, Superintendents and their assistants and "the books of the village-priests", as well as with various miscellaneous problems. It makes clear distinction between the Ordinance of the Church and the King's, "Our Ordinance". The first Ordinance can never be changed. It consists of rightly preaching the Word of God, both the Law and the Gospel, of administering the Sacraments according to the institution of the Lord, of teaching the children baptized in Christ, and of supporting the Servants of the Church and the Schools, and aiding the poor. "Our Ordinance" is to serve the Ordinance of Jesus Christ; but it has the authority of law.

The Ordinance of the church presupposed the old Lutheran view that there is only one community of people, but with two regimes, a secular and an ecclesiastical one, whose means and ways of working are different, but which work together and support each other for the building of the one body of Christ⁽³⁾. The modern idea, of State and Church being two separate

(1) "En Ordinantz, hvorledis Kircketienesten skal holdes iudi Danmarcks oc Norges riger oc de hertugdøme til Sleswig oc Holsten", Neiiendam, pp. 103-104.

(2) Published in modern Danish in: Olsen, Max W., *Den danske Kirkeordinantz af 1539*, Nyt Nordisk Forlag, København 1936.

(3) Andersen, J. O. "Da vor Kirke, etc", op. cit., p. 59.

communities, had no place here. "Our Ordinance", the ecclesiastical law, the law of the land, had, therefore, to be obeyed. Indifferent people must be brought to hear the Word, and dissent is to be punished as disobedience!⁽¹⁾

d. The Crowning of the King and the Consecration of the new evangelical Superintendents, Aug. - Sept., 1537.

Christian III had been crowned King on August 12, 1537, on his 34th birthday, in the Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen. Bugenhagen made on this

occasion a long speech and counselled the congregation not to eat and drink too much, while stating that at an event like this it could not be considered a great sin to drink somewhat more than actual thirst demanded! On September 2, the King signed the Church Ordinance, and seven evangelical Superintendents were consecrated by Bugenhagen. They were: Peder Palladius for the diocese of Zealand, Frands Vormordsen for Lund, Jørgen Sadolin for Odense, Mads Lang for Aarhus, Jacob Skjønning for Viborg, Peder Thomsen for Børglum, and Hans Vandel for Ribe. These first Superintendents, or Bishops, had not been elected according to the requirements of the Ordinance, but were appointed by the King. Peder Palladius, who was practically to hold the position of primus inter pares, was only 34 years old. He had studied at Wittenberg while

(1) Ibid., pp. 59-60.

the struggle for the Reformation had been at its worst, 1531-37. But both Luther and Bugenhagen recommended him for this responsible position of which he proved highly worthy. One wonders why Hans Tavsén was not appointed bishop. It may have been in order not yet to burden him with administrative duties and hinder his forceful preaching. He was, however, in 1542, appointed Superintendent in Ribe and ordained by Bugenhagen.⁽¹⁾ The Danish Evangelical Church had been formally established.

3. What had been accomplished, and what yet remained. The Reformers in Denmark, as in Germany, rightly felt that, with the establishing

of the reformed Church, a new epoch had begun, "the bright and clear Day of the Gospel". Much had been accomplished. The yoke of the Roman Catholic Church had been broken; its leaders had been made powerless; the civil war between striving religious factions was over, and the Evangelicals headed the Government. The new Church had been established, its organization *fashioned* and its work inaugurated. The evangelical movement had not only freedom to work, but opposition was punished; the foundation for a positive and a constructive work had been laid. The accomplishments, so far, may be stated in one phrase: the inner building up of the reformed Church

Neiiendam, op. cit., p. 108.

in Denmark could begin.

But many real problems had yet to be solved before the Reformation was an accomplished fact. The old building had been demolished: that was an accomplishment in itself, but probably the least difficult one. The new had been designed with the Ordinatio Ecclesiastica and the consecration of the Superintendents. That was also a significant work. Now the task of building remained. It is with the first phase of that significant part of the Danish Reformation that we especially have to deal in the following chapters, showing the significant contribution which the Scotsman, Dr. Johannes Macchabeus, made here.

The whole baptized population - from the Lutheran point of view - the Church, its priests and people had yet to be won for the Evangelical cause and biblical teachings. The larger number of the priests were ignorant of the real issues at stake, and many had consented to the new regime for the sake of their living, while at heart still Roman Catholic. In the parishes the Nobles who adhered to the old system, and the members of the Monastic orders, offered troublesome and severe opposition to the new Church. The mass of the people continued true to the Roman Catholic customs and traditions which were rooted deeply in their hearts and lives. They prayed to the Saints, worshipped before their pictures

and at sacred places. In fact, in order to break the practice of worship and invocation of Saints the churches had to be "cleansed" of pictures, and the doors locked. Unfortunately the churches continued to be locked up on week days so long that it has ever since been difficult for the people to see that the Church might be interested in anything but the couple of hours of worship on Sundays. The closing of the church proved so effective, according to Dr. Neiiendam⁽¹⁾, that the mass of people ever since has passed it by every day without thinking of visiting it for personal devotion.

Schools for children, for higher education and for preachers had to be established, teachers had to be supplied, and the economic bases for the educational work, which the Church was to sponser, had to be furnished. The University of Copenhagen had to be founded anew, in itself a huge but highly necessary task. An Evangelical ministry had to be trained. The Scriptures had to be produced in the Vernacular for the Churches. Evangelical literature of instruction had to be composed, printed and circulated. These were all great and difficult tasks left to be accomplished by the Reformation in Denmark.

Moreover, it was impossible that the great issues dividing the Protestants themselves on the Continent

(1) Neiiendam, op. cit., p. 113.

should not cause division among the leaders of the new movement also in Denmark. The struggle for the shaping of a Confessional Dogmatics had to be encountered, and here Johannes Macchabæus showed himself to be a Scotsman of typical evangelical persuasions. It was, in fact, at this stage of the Reformation that Johannes Macchabæus was called to Denmark. We must now, therefore, divert our attention from the general situation to the University of Copenhagen which especially claimed the service of our Scotsman, and which formed the background and setting for his work.

B. The University of Copenhagen and the Work to which Dr. Macchabæus was called.

1. The History of the University previous to the Reformation.

Papal permission to establish a university in one of the Scandinavian

lands had been granted to the Danish King, Erik of

Pommerania, in 1419, but another 50 years had to pass

a. Its Founding

in 1479. before an institution was actually founded. In 1475

another Papal Bull was issued, by Pope Sixtus the Fourth, to the Archbishop of Lund, who was then primate of Denmark, granting him freedom to found a complete university after the pattern of Bologna in a convenient place in one of the States of the Danish King⁽¹⁾. In

(1) The bull of Pope Sixtus granted to the Chancellor of the University "all the powers of the Archdeacon of Bologna". But the statutes of 1279 were a "little more than a transcript of the statutes of Cologne". Glasgow University in the same way (1480) was said in the Papal Bull to have the privileges etc., of the

1478, the King secured the support of the State for its establishment, and a Magister Peter Albretsen was appointed to go into the Continent to secure a staff of Doctors and Masters (magisters) to teach in the various faculties. A chapter house of the Church of Our Lady was set aside for lecture rooms and the Professors were placed under ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

b. Its first in- M. Peder Albretsen arrived back in
structors, from
U. of Cologne. Copenhagen on May 26th, 1479 with a
number of Masters and Bachelors and Students, whom
he had secured at the University of Cologne, and on
July 1st the University was formally inaugurated with
great ceremonial in the Church of Our Lady. 79 academic
persons from Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Germany and the
Netherlands were incorporated on the Matriculation
Charter.

The fact that the first group of teachers
were secured from Cologne seems to have been rather un-
fortunate for the new University. The Renaissance with
its awakening interest in the Sciences demanded a more
liberal outlook for the institutions of learning than

(Note continued from page 144) University of Bologna.
But it was really based on Cologne and Paris. No one
in Scotland and presumably no one in Denmark knew what
were the conditions at Bologna, but the phrase sounded
well in the papal bull. Rashdall, op. cit., new edition
on the University of Copenhagen.

the University of Cologne, one of the strongholds of Orthodoxy and Scholasticism, represented. The Copenhagen University attained therefore no great significance before the time of the Reformation. During the first quarter of the 16th Century its staff of teachers consisted of two professors in Theology, two in Law, one, or none, in Medicine, three, or four, in Philosophy. It

c. Its celebrated Scholastic Theologian, a Scotsman. is of interest to us to note that its most important Theologian during the

pre-Reformation period was a Scotsman, Dr. Peder Scotus, who came from Cologne. He had been promoted to the Doctorate in 1498 when the University of Copenhagen expressed its joy over the Danish King's victory in war with Sweden! Dr. Peder Scotus remained professor in theology for 42 years, an enviable record, till his death in 1520, the last celebrated Scholastic Theologian in Denmark. Another Scotsman, Magister Thomas Allan Scotus, may be found among the professors in Copenhagen during the second decade of the 16th Century.

d. Out of touch with the New Learning. But the University was in the hands of orthodox Roman Catholicism. Its means of existence consisted, so far, largely of grants from the Church. In order to hinder any Humanistic or Lutheran views from obtaining a hearing at the University, a proclamation was issued by the Bishops as late

as 1527 to the effect that none, except Bachelors of Theology and priests, should be permitted to attend theological lectures. And this in a day when Theology was the burning question of the hour! It is not surprising, therefore, that Danish students sought elsewhere for their university training. Frants Vermordsen, a Dutchman, and Magister Oluf Chrysostomus were appointed Professors of Theology in 1527, but two years later they became outspoken adherents of the Reformation. The two evangelical, theological schools for preachers, founded in Viborg in 1526, and in Malmö in 1529, secured the attention of the Humanistic and Evangelical students of the day. The King, Frederick I, issued a letter for the reformation of the University in 1530, but no reformation ensued. That was possibly due to the immediate reaction of the authorities to the fanatical demolition of the interior of the Cathedral Church at the hands of furious Lutherans in 1530. No rector was elected in 1531, when the last traces of academic activity at the University ceased. There was no university work in 1533.

in Denmark in 1533. Plans for the renewal of the academic work, possibly in Roskilde, the stronghold of Roman Catholicism, seem to have been considered, but the Reformation changed such considerations, in 1536. The Bishops were imprisoned and the old Church-system dethroned. If the University of Copenhagen was to serve

the Church of the Reformation, it had to be refounded, rebuilt, refinanced and repopulated.⁽¹⁾

2. The Refounding of the University of Copenhagen in 1537. One of the first problems which engaged the attention of King Christian III and the Council of State, upon the imprisonment of the Roman Catholic Bishops and the readjustment of ecclesiastical affairs, was that of the Refounding of the University. The Evangelical "preachers and servants of the Word of God" had, in their Supplication, asked for the establishment of a university with instruction in the Bible and its original languages, Hebrew and Greek. If the Reformation was to be victorious, and not merely to remain with negative enactments alone, if the Lutheran Church Ordinance and the Evangelical teachings were to be inculcated among the People, a university concentrating at first its attention primarily upon the dire need of the Church, was an indispensable institution. The a.Chr. III favors the University. King realized the seriousness of this situation and took a great deal of personal interest in the matter. In fact, it seems that among the demands which the new church made upon him that of the University had his special interest and care.

(1) Rörðam, Vol. I., pp. 7-29, about the University of Copenhagen this far.

Christian III desired a reformation on strict Lutheran patterns and principles. And there were two men whom he wanted to reestablish the Church in Denmark: Johannes Bugenhagen, or Pomeranus, to draw up the new church constitution, and Phillip Melanchthon, to rebuild the University. Better men for either work could hardly be found. The King consequently wrote to Prince Johan Frederick of Saxony asking him to grant the two men permission to go to Denmark, and, finally, Bugenhagen secured leave of absence to conform to the desire of the Danish King. Melanchthon possessed apparently some premonitory fear of crossing the sea, which, in spite of his desire to go, made him decline to take the risk of going. Bugenhagen thus had to give his attention

b. Bugenhagen's and Melanchthon's influence upon the new University. both to the Church and the University, although Melanchthon did exert a

decisive influence upon the curriculum and the manner of study at the new University and, moreover, helped to train, at Wittenberg, many of the Danes who later became professors at the University.

Bugenhagen arrived in Copenhagen in July 1537. He was accompanied by several graduates and students from the University of Wittenberg, primarily Danes, men of Evangelical persuasions, who had studied abroad during the years of religious transition in Denmark. Two of the men, both recently promoted to the Doctorate

At Wittenberg, became outstanding leaders in the new Danish church. They were Dr. Peder Palladius, elected to the Primacy of the new Church, and Dr. Tileman von Hussen, Professor of Theology and later appointed a Superintendent. Bugenhagen's first public functions were to crown the King and to consecrate the Evangelical

c. Its formal opening on September 9th, 1537. Superintendents. The Church Ordinance of September 2nd 1537 had given definite

promise of establishing a university in the near future.

Only a week passed, and on September 9 the moment arrived when the King in the Church of our Lady in the presence of the Council of State, the Burgomaster of the City and the People, declared the University open and promised suitable privileges to the Doctors, Masters, Students, Canons and Monastics and received the Oath of Fidelity from the Rector and the Deans. The first three theological professors were: Dr. Johannes Bugenhagen, Dr. Tileman von Hussen, from Westphalia, and Dr. Peder Palladius, Superintendent of Zealand, Professor ex officio⁽¹⁾. We must now pay some attention to the Foundation and Ordinance, or Constitution, of the University.

d. Its foundation and ordinance, of 1539. The Foundation and Constitution⁽²⁾ of the University, worked out by Bugenhagen,

was finished by 1539, and on June 10th the King and

(1) Ibid., pp. 44-75.

(2) Ibid., pp. 75-115.

22 Members of the Council of State signed the document⁽¹⁾.

The first part of this document, Foundation, deals with the story of the previous university, tells of the call of Bugenhagen and his work in drawing up the Church Constitution and in reestablishing the University, while it also assures the University of retaining the income which it formerly had by donations, and mentions provisions for grounds, buildings, lecture rooms and houses for the Professors. It exhorts, in the name of Christ, future rulers - and thereby even the contemporary one - to support, endow and extend the work of the University.

The Constitution deals specifically, first, with the buildings; and it is of interest here to note, that the Professors were to have the residences of former Roman Catholic Canons, and that the Church of Our Lady - the Cathedral Church of Copenhagen - was placed under the patronage of the University. Secondly, the Constitution deals with the instructors, lecturers and academical affairs. We cite a note of interest: "What we here have decided regarding the instructors, their work and their salaries, is to remain unchangeable, and we shall preferably add rather than subtract.....". That was at least some guarantee to the Professors who felt

(1) "Fundatio et Ordinatio universalis Scholæ Hafniensis".

cause to worry over the security of their salaries in the future! The Professors were to lecture weekly, on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday. Wednesday was to be devoted to Repetitions and Disputations, Saturday to Professors' Disputations and academic exercises. Sunday morning was set aside for catechizing and Sunday evening for declamations. There were to be only two weeks of holidays during the year, in September.

The Professors of Theology, three in number, included, as we have mentioned before, the Superintendent of Zealand, who in the beginning held the rank of first professor, but, because of so much absence on visitations, he was very soon placed third in rank⁽¹⁾. The Professors were to lecture on the Holy Bible, the Articles of the Christian faith, and on the Loci Communes or the basis of Melanchthon's writings. One of them was to lecture on Hebrew twice a week. Greek was to be taught in the philosophical faculty. Every professor had to dispute four times, and to declaim once, during the year. Questions of strife in religion were to be avoided, unless necessity demanded the refutation of heretical teachings. The theological professors were, furthermore, to counsel the King on questions of conscience and religious issues. The Superintendent of Zealand received 100 Thaler for

(1) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 80.

his work as professor, the two other professors 150 Thaler each⁽¹⁾.

The third part of the Constitution dealt with the income and whole economic basis of the University; the fourth with its Statutes and Laws, from which we get the suggestive information that the Rector of the University was, on formal occasions, to sit above the Chancellor of the Kingdom and the Superintendents. The remaining part of the Constitution deals with the work of other University-Officials. Bugenhagen's pen is noticeable in almost every section of the Constitution. The new University of Copenhagen was founded on the pattern of the University of Wittenberg, the ideal institution of learning for Lutheran Reformers⁽²⁾. The total number of professors at the University at the time of its refounding was 12, but soon three more were added to the Staff⁽³⁾.

Bugenhagen's work had been accomplished. He had spent almost two years in Denmark, and he returned to Saxony in June 1539. Here he reported to Prince Johan Frederick that "The Foundation and Ordinance (Constitution) of the University was accepted and signed, as was the Church Ordinance....The University possesses

(1) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 81.
(2) Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 104-105.
(3) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 113.

good professors, sufficiently cared for with good salaries..... The Gospel is preached purely and powerfully in Denmark... I have been no place where preaching is so well heard... and where there is so much of it.. as in Denmark, even on the Weekdays and during the winter, even before day-break, and on the Holidays all through the day, and the people pray very much"(1).

So far we have attempted to present the necessary background and setting for the work and position to which Dr. Macchabeus was called, in order that we may fully appreciate the significance of his place in the Danish Reformation, the Church, the University and in Danish national religious affairs. A few more data directly related to his position must be added.

3. The Situation at the University at the time of Macchabeus's arrival.

The University of Copenhagen had received a good beginning. Bugenhagen's administrative experience, wisdom and inspiring

presence were successful in solving the many problems that arose in connection with the work of instituting the new seat of learning. The King's confidence in Bugenhagen made him favour the University in such ways as Bugenhagen desired. But the German counsellor left, as we have noted, in 1539.

(1) Ibid., Vol. I, op. cit., p. 115.

a. A Successor to
Bugenhagen needed
and wanted in 1541. Only two years passed before the Professors

petitioned the King to secure a learned man and famous writer to be their "Head", probably to work with the Chancellor, as the Foundation really demanded. The fact was that several problems had arisen: the University lacked sufficient finances; stipends had to be secured for students preparing for the ministry to enable them to study at the University rather than at the Cathedral Schools. It was as yet no prerequisite for service in the Church that a pastor had studied at the University. The Professors, at any rate, felt that they needed a leader, outstanding in the field of Theology and with such merits and experience as ^{would} make him an authority amongst them. They had obviously faced the fact that by appealing to the King, whose lack of confidence in native men was well known, a foreigner would be secured. Christian III did indeed place more trust in learned and celebrated foreign theologians - especially Germans - than in all his Superintendents and Professors. It is, of course, true that if someone was wanted who was in touch with the issues and leaders of the Reformation on the Continent, he had to be found outside of Denmark. Peder Palladius's experience, for example, was limited to his years of study at Wittenberg, where he went when only 27 years of age and spent seven years.

b. The King appeals in vain for Bugenhagen's return.

The King appealed once more, in January 1542, to Bugenhagen and asked him

to come: Nothing should be spared to make his living in Denmark suitable and comfortable. But Bugenhagen could not accept the offer. He paid a visit instead to the Danish Dukedoms, Sleswig and Holstein, to establish the reformed Church there, and at the same time made a tour to Ribe, where he met with the King, the Council of State, the Superintendents and a few other leading churchmen, and new arrangements were made in favour of the

Church and the University⁽¹⁾.

c. Dr. Macchabeus is

recommended for But the situation at the University was acute. the Professorship.

The Faculty of Theology, the most important group of professors, had suffered a severe depletion of its staff. Bugenhagen was gone. Peder Palladius's work as Superintendent demanded the larger part of his time elsewhere. Moreover, in the spring of 1542, Dr. Tilemann von Hussen, the Westphalian, was consecrated Superintendent of Sleswig by Bugenhagen. So far as we can ascertain, only Magister Oluf Chrysostomus was left as professor of Theology. Bugenhagen had, however, as we have seen from a former chapter, made provision for the primary position in the theological faculty of the University. He secured in the beginning of 1542, a man of wider experience as a

(1) Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 144-145.

reformer than any other man in Denmark, a learned and brilliant theologian of international standing, whom he and Melanchthon and Luther considered to be the right person for the important theological professorship in Copenhagen. He was to finish the work of reforming the Church in Denmark, to be at the head of the training of ministers for the new evangelical church, to counsel the King on large religious issues, to be the supreme judge in matters ecclesiastical and other crucial problems concerning the course of the Reformation in Denmark.

The man who arrived to take up this work was the Scot,

Dr. Johannes Macchabæus.

4. The Importance of the
Position to which We can not too strongly emphasize the im-
Dr. Macchabæus was called:

A Summary of the importance of the position to which Johannes Macchabæus
was called in Denmark. It was not only to teach Theology,
not only twice to hold the Office of Rector Magnificus,
the highest position and honour in the University, but
ex officio to be placed in a unique position in the
whole cause of the Danish Reformation. The theological
Doctors, among whom Macchabæus was chief, participated
in the National Church Councils and the meetings of the
Superintendents where the affairs of the Church were set-
tled by the Theological Faculty, which was deemed the
supreme council and court in religious matters. There
was no separation between the Church and Theology. Both

were one organic whole in a day of religious transition in Denmark , and this accounts for the importance of the position to which Macchabæus was called.

We shall, in the ensuing chapters, take up the story of the life of Macchabæus in Denmark from the time of his arrival at the University of Copenhagen, through the various significant phases of the work in which he was involved during the next fifteen years, till his death in 1557.

CHAPTER V.

THE STORY OF THE EVENTFUL YEARS OF DR. MACCHABÆUS'S SERVICE IN DENMARK.

First Part: 1542-1550

A. From his Arrival in 1542 to the Conclusion of his first Rectorship, in 1545.

The story of the call of Dr. Macchabæus to Denmark and his arrival at the University of Copenhagen was told already at the conclusion of Part I of this treatise. Macchabæus was kindly received at the University. The Professors presented him with one third of a year's salary to cover the expenses of his long journey. We have earlier referred to the fact that rumours soon reached Wittenberg that the Danish professors excluded the Scotsman from their councils and that Bugenhagen consequently inquired the King if that were true. The King referred the matter to the professors themselves, who in turn decided that Macchabæus was to go to the King to declare that such rumours were wholly fictitious.

It is possible that Macchabæus, on his way to Denmark, visited the great gathering in Ribe, during the latter days of April and the first days of May 1542, when Bugenhagen met with the King, the Council of State,

the Superintendents and other leading churchmen to draw up additional regulations regarding the Church and the University. If so, he would immediately be introduced to the leaders of the Danish Reformation, of the Church and the University, and be made acquainted with the state of affairs in Denmark. He did, in any case, arrive in Copenhagen in the spring, or early summer, of 1542.

1. Macchabæus takes The academic year of the University of
over his new Work,
1542.

Copenhagen took in the whole calender year with the exception of 2 weeks. It began on October 28, from which time, in 1542, Macchabæus was a regular professor at the Danish seat of learning. He won in no time high recognition for his excellent gifts of teaching and was in great favour with the students. The custom for professors to open their homes for as many students as they might supply with board and lodging, was also observed in Copenhagen, probably, as elsewhere, to give the professors a chance to add some further income to their otherwise quite meager livelihood. It was, however, exceedingly valuable to the students to stay in such lodgings. The professors generally employed a period at mealtime to instruct the students in certain courses connected with their pursuits. It is a well known fact that the homes of Luther and Melanchthon were eagerly sought by the students for the

the sake of the discussions that ensued at the common fellowship. Likewise Dr. Macchabæus's home was especially sought by students in Copenhagen because of the instruction he gave and the interest and care which he bestowed upon his students. And he was a man of a wide range of acquaintance, with a storehouse of insight in the work of reforming the Church in several lands, broad of outlook, schooled not only by great teachers, but by the risks of a life devoted to the evangelical movement.

The work of teaching at the University was, of course, determined largely by the immediate demand of the new evangelical Church for a preaching ministry. There was no time, or desire, on the part of professors or students to deal with meaningless scholastic questions. Great religious issues were at stake. The foremost task of the University was to train a group of men who could preach and teach the new doctrines, explain the Scripture and exercise pastoral care of their flocks according to the Gospel. Therefore the theological professors' primary task was to lecture on the Bible and to comment on such passages as practical demands required. Justification by Faith was the touchstone by which the Scriptures were interpreted; the object was to teach the clear distinction between the Law and the Gospel. The Ordinance of the

University recommended that the following studies should constitute the basis of instruction: Luther's interpretation of the Letter to the Galatians and his Exegesis of the Sermon on the Mount, Melanchthon's Loci Communes, his Comments on the Letter to the Romans, and his Apology of the Augsburg Confession of Faith. It is interesting to note that Macchabæus's exposition of Melanchthon's Loci Communes was already especially esteemed among his students⁽¹⁾.

2. The Disputations
with the Roman Catho-
-lic Clergy, 1542-43.

Only a year passed before Dr. Macchabæus was required, in addition to his regular work of lecturing at the University, to take part in controversy against the Roman Catholic clergy, who still continued to exert ~~this~~ influence against a complete reformation

The larger number of the former bishops, whose imprisonment had broken the power of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and Church in Denmark, had been afterwards released. They were, without a single exception, granted comfortable livings, on condition that they subscribed to the new church Ordinance. The King's primary concern

(1) Rörda, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 300, mentions that notes from several of Macchabæus's lectures were kept by the students long after. See also: Ny Kirkehist. Saml. Vol. II, p. 345, which suggests to us his gifts primarily as a theologian.

regarding the leaders of the old Church-establishment was to ensure that no agitation took place against the new Church-order in favour of the old. It was, however, soon discovered, through the complaints of the evangelical pastors, that a considerable number of the clergy of the cathedral chapters still retained sympathy for the Roman Catholic Church. They were sources of passive resistance against the work of the Reformation to which they had given the signature of their hand, but not that of their hearts. They kept away from evangelical Worship and especially from the Communion, and rumours went about that they secretly read the Mass at night in monasteries and chapter houses⁽¹⁾.

In order to break that form of resistance against the evangelical Church an attack was launched against the Roman Catholic clergymen. Ministers preached against papistical errors in the churches of the cities in which there was known to be opposition, especially in Roskilde, Lund and Copenhagen. But an even more direct step was taken by the University, when the theological faculty with Macchabeus in its midst decided to challenge the secret friends of the Papacy to public disputations. It was the task of the University

(1) Helweg, Ludvig N., Den Danske Kirkes Historie efter Reformationen, 2 Edit., Kjøbenhavn, 1857, Vol. I, pp. 81-82.

to summon persons in error and to make final pronouncements in cases of heresy. The plan of procedure which the evangelical divines adopted was the customary one: to challenge their opponents to a disputation and thus make them appear in public as advocates of heretical views; to dispute with them; and finally, when the dispute had gone against their adversaries, which under the circumstances it was doomed to do, to make them subscribe to the views set forth by the reformed Church.

The Copenhagen theologians, who in the name of the University challenged the Roman Catholic clergy, were Dr. Johannes Macchabeus, Magister Oluf Chrysostomus and Dr. Peder Palladius, the Superintendent of Zealand. [It was a strange exchange of roles! The former Dominican prior of Perth once persecuted by his own brethren, now led to dispute against his former brethren to win the land completely for the cause of evangelical Christianity in Denmark].

The Sentences which the theological professors set up to be dealt with in disputations were aimed at the Mass, or the papistical practice of consecrating the Host without the presence of a Church-Fellowship; at Transubstantiation, or the papistical dogma concerning the Communion, which insists that a physical change of the Bread in the Lord's Supper into the very flesh of Christ takes place; at the Service of the Word,

or the Ordination of Priests as a Sacrament. Thus the sentences were aimed wholly at the primary Roman Catholic dogmas regarding the Mass: its consecration, its transubstantiation and its administration⁽¹⁾.

a. The Clergy The disputations began in the spring of
of Copenhagen.

1543 with the Canons and Vicars, who lived at the Church of Our Lady and the St. Nikolai Church in Copenhagen. A Magister Mathias and his vicar, Nicolaus, met with the Professors, but ere long they were brought to subscribe to the tenets of the evangelical Church, whereupon they received the Communion according to the Lutheran ritual. One of their brethren, however, was commanded in 1544 to make a public recantation, confessing that he, "informed by the academic dispute and by closer examination of Holy Writ, acknowledged the teaching of the Danish Churches right and Christian, that people cannot be saved from their natural depravity by their own works, but obtain remission of sins solely by their faith in God through Jesus Christ; that Baptism and Communion are rightly administered (in the Danish Churches), and that such men as were consecrated at the hands of the Superintendents were rightly priests". Thereupon he took part in the Communion.⁽²⁾

(1) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 83.

(2) Heiberg, Peder Palladius, pp. 103-109., Theol. Tidsskrift, Vol. IV, p. 2., Cf. Helweg, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 84-85.

b. The Clergy of The Cathedral Chapter in Roskilde proved Roskilde.

a more difficult group for the professors.

Although the King wanted a public disputation and the Roman Catholic clergy desired to have the matter settled through written agreements, the correspondence between them and the professors regarding the matter made it primarily a literary dispute, which incidentally has made a fund of documentary material available to posterity⁽¹⁾. The King insisted on a disputation, but the Clergy wrote a letter to the Professors in which they mentioned their reasons for not wishing to dispute orally: The tendency of their opponents to exhibit lack of self-control and, frequently, later in the controversy to misconstrue their words. They acknowledged many abuses in the Papal Church, but held that misuse of a thing is no reason for its abolition, that "we do not forbid the planting of vines because people get drunk!" The letter enclosed an elaborate reply to the three sentences, which the Professors wanted to dispute.

The Professors refrained from a written answer and a literary feud, stating that it was "not because of fear of telling the whole world the truth of our opinions", but "that it is beneficial and necessary to hide as much as possible (of such disputes),

(1) *Danische Bibliotec, oder Sammlung von Alten und Neuen Gelehrten aus Dannemark; Kopenhagen und Leipzig, 1744, Vol. VII, pp. 100-143.*

that ignorant people shall not be led astray". They desired no tractarian strife, but referred to the University Foundation and the Church Council in Ribe, which expressed joy over the reformation of the Church.

The original reply of the Roman Catholic Clergy to the three sentences is a document worthy of note. It was composed in a balanced tone and strongly logical style. They acknowledged that the Mass was no offering for the sins of man, as no other offering was valid than that of Christ, but they called it an offering in so far as it was a commemoration of the death of Christ, an offering of thanksgiving and commemoration. Regarding the second sentence, they claimed that in the main there was agreement between them and the Lutherans, as both parties acknowledged the presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the elements of the Lord's Supper. Regarding the third sentence - the true ordination of the one who administers the Communion in order to make that rite valid - they claimed that since no one would deny the right of Roman Catholic priests, whom the Professors had termed "scraped and greased ~~offering~~-priests", to administer the Communion, it should be remembered that it was not from the administration itself that the Sacrament received its power and efficacy, and that they themselves "would not be even truly baptized, nor born of Christian parents" if they refused to "recognize the validity

of the Roman Catholic priesthood in spite of the abuses of those who constitute it, "as for only in recent years" had there been any other than "those so-called papistical offerers".

The Roman Catholic canons give impression of great ability and theological learning and argumentation and of a liberal outlook such as one hardly finds anywhere at that time. Their reply demands attention, not least because of its poise of temper and its control of language, points in which they much surpassed the evangelical spokesmen!

Finally, on December 10th and 11th 1543, the dispute was held in Copenhagen. The Roman Catholic representatives were Dr. Jacob Heye, who also held a canonry in Copenhagen, Canon Dr. Nicolaus Blocke, rector of the Cathedral School in Roskilde when the evangelical professor, Niels Hemmingsen, whose acquaintance we shall make later, was a student there, and Canon Johannes Larsen. The University was represented by Superintendent Dr. Peder Palladius, Professor Dr. Johannes Macchabæus, Magister Oluf Chrysostomus and a couple of other professors. The Sessions lasted from 8 to 11 A.M. and from 1 to 6 P.M. Judgement was destined to go against the Papal Clergy. The disputation was a well arranged occasion to make the adherents of the old order sign the evangelical

tenets and promise to be silent on the disputed religious issues, or forfeit their livings. They attempted, therefore, to word the declaration, which they were to sign, in such a way that none of them really held any responsibility, nor committed themselves against their persuasions. Thus they proposed to add sentences like these: " - in so far as these sentences agree with the Word of God and writings of the Fathers of Holy Church", - "as the Chapter has before agreed to the Ordinance of the King, so do also these Sentences", - "the Chapter signs according to His Royal Majesty's command". But the Professors, and especially Dr. Macchabæus, knew the Roman Catholic practice and caused the Clergy to sign the evangelical theses as they were formulated with no other addition than that "this signature is not to withdraw these Sentences from the judgement of the Catholic Church and the General Council".⁽¹⁾ Macchabæus had taken the leading part in the dispute regarding the Communion, a part in which he excelled both because of his great gift of argumentation and, not least, because of his Calvinistic leanings on this subject.

c. The Clergy
of Lund.

The Clergy of the Cathedral Chapter of Lund

were exceedingly *critical* in their opposition

to the Sentences of the Professors, as also to the Reformation as a whole. They acted boldly, sent a letter

(1) Helweg, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 85-92.

to the King expressing their unwillingness to meet in a disputation of the evangelical tenets. Their justification for such an attitude and their stand found expression in a message of considerable length, the content of which is worthy of note, as it gives us an idea of the means of defence which the Roman Catholic leaders employed against the Protestants who had secured the upper hand in the state.

The Canons began by showing how arbitrarily Luther and his disciples interpreted Holy Scripture, and the danger which ensues from placing the Bible in the hands of the People:

"Some pull towards the East, others towards the West, tearing it into so many parts, that no one knows how to gather them again. Others have patched it (the Bible) up so pathetically, that that which should be placed at the head is now placed at the feet, and vice versa, - and how many beautiful patches of cloth have not been thrown away, which, however, were necessary for the wedding garments, but which seemed useless for those tailors. - God be merciful to the Christian Peoples, every nation under the Sun makes Halloween with the Holy Scriptures, the ceremonies and customs of the Holy Church. - Our good deeds matter nothing; anyone who is baptized and believes can not lose his salvation, however detestable his life. - That is what every man affirms, - when one preaches what everyone likes, then it is the Holy Gospel. The people are now judges in all matters. - It is time for the secular authority to consider the consequences. When the common man has learned to reject the authority of the Church, the authority of the State will fare likewise. - Have we not seen it with the Anabaptists, whose purpose and plan it is to destroy all princes and lords and to devastate land and cities".(1)

(1) Danske Magasin, Vol. V., pp. 261-265, 270. Cf. Helweg, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 93-94.

Next they pointed to disagreements among "the highly learned superintendents" in regard to Baptism, the Lord's Supper and Confession, as follows:

"It is to be feared that all Zwinglians have not died! They shun no cunning, contrivance or plan to make cause with the common man. - This the highly learned doctors and magisters in Copenhagen have shown to have in mind by the Conclusions or Sentences which they wish disputed and thereto have challenged us, although we did not know that Schools or Universities employed such customs".

They continue, that they realized that disputations were held with young men at the Universities to make sure of their learning before promoting them to the higher degrees, but that the Church has decreed that no article of faith is to be made compulsory until it has been ratified by the four leading Universities, - those of Paris, Oxford, Cologne and Louvain. Not until the said universities had confirmed the new tenets set forth in the Sentences regarding Faith and Practice would they accept them⁽¹⁾.

Whether the King personally replied to this daring message we do not know. That some of the things, which the clergy of Lund pointed out, were true, is obvious. But the time was against them, and their spirit of scorn had no secular authority behind it. They realized undoubtedly that there was no way out for them but to

(1) Danske Magasin, Vol. V., pp. 261-265, 270. Cf. Helweg, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 93-94.

follow the example of their colleagues in Roskilde and Copenhagen. They met in the latter city in November 1544 to dispute the Sentences with the Professors. They had sent their best theologians and scholars in Divinity, while the University was represented by Dr. Macchabæus, Oluf Chrysostomus, the Superintendent, Peder Palladius, the Dialectician, Magister Jens Sinningius, and the Royal Chaplain, Magister Nicolaus Cragius, a German. In spite of a bad foot, the King proved his interest in theological matters by listening on several of the 8 days during which the disputations lasted. The two parties were engaged in the verbal struggle from 8 A.M. to 12 noon, and from 2 to 5 P.M., they examined the passages in the writings of the Church Fathers to which the Lundensian Churchmen had appealed. Apparently the evenings were also employed as the following item of expense occurs in the Accounts of the University in 1544: "Candles, at the time when the Canons of Lund were in the Chapterhouse in the evening"⁽¹⁾.

The disputation proved a hard combat for both parties. A whole tradition regarding the relative importance of the main Cathedral Chapters in Denmark had to be sacrificed. Lund with its majestic Cathedral had been the seat of the Archbishop, the Cathedral of Roskilde

(1) Danske Magasin, 3 R., Vol. VI, p. 24.
Cf. Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 168.

with its School was the primary seat of ecclesiastical learning in Denmark, and only next to Lund in authority, so that traditionally the Cathedral Church of Copenhagen and its chapter were subject to Roskilde and, most definitely, to Lund. The change whereby the new Bishops - the Superintendents - were consecrated in Copenhagen and the supreme theological court placed in the hands of the theological faculty in Copenhagen ~~was~~ not so much a novelty as a revolution which the learned Roman Catholic Churchmen of Lund despised. But they were silenced and had to subscribe to the Articles which they had formerly so boldly scorned and rejected. It is recorded simply that the Professors won the disputation; that must, however, be accredited not only to circumstance but, also, to the learning of the Professors. Although individual cases of opposition had to be encountered later, the Roman Catholic headquarters were thenceforward silenced in Denmark.

3. Macchabeus appointed
Rector Magnificus in
1544.

Dr. Macchabeus had acted in this
disputation both as a theological

professor of first rank and also as the Rector Magnificus of the University. He had been elected to this highest academic honor only a couple of months previously, in spite of having served merely two years in Denmark⁽¹⁾.

(1) Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 382.

a. The University The victory over the Roman Catholic celebrates its Victory - by Promotions. Clergy had to be celebrated! And the

University accordingly arranged a highly ceremonial promotion of doctors only a few days after the disputation. The festivity was held in the Church of Our Lady on November 24th 1544. Superintendent Peder Palladius, who was Dean of the faculty of theology, presented the three men, who had assisted Dr. Macchabeus and himself in the disputations, for the Doctorate, and Macchabeus, the Rector Magnificus, promoted them to be Doctors of Theology. It^{was/} in part, apparently, the purpose of Macchabeus to secure for the new University such a degree of international reputation and rank as promotions to higher degrees would give it, so that it might attract students both from the Danish States and from abroad. He had already in September promoted four men to Bachelors of Theology, and several other promotions followed during this, his first, Rectorate. (1)

b. The Office of The Office of Rector Magnificus lasted the Rectorate at the University of Copenhagen generally for one year. The Rector hagen.

was elected from the Senate of the University, which was made up of the Deans from the various faculties. The deanship of the higher faculties was always conferred on the senior professor in the faculty. The installation of the new rector into office took place

(1) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 169.

in the Church of Our Lady with great ceremonial in the presence of the whole academic community, and to the ringing of church-bells. The retiring Rector inducted his successor by a speech in Latin. The Symbols of the Office, two silver-maces, which on academic occasions were carried before the Rector, were presented to him, as were also the Six Seals of the University, the Foundation Charter, the Matriculation Rolls and Acta Consistorii and such other documents as pertained to the University and the Senate, all of which were kept in a special chest, the Cista Rectoris. The Rector immatriculated new academic citizens and possessed the sole right of granting degrees and testimonium publicum. He had to care for the interests of the University and watch over its privileges and possessions and its economy. He presided over the Sessions of the Senate and exercised supreme jurisdiction over the Students, the Officers of the University, the Workers on its lands and others under the patronage of the institution. Therefore a peculiar honor, due obedience and reverence had to be shown to him on all occasions. He had to be dressed in a special robe, whenever he appeared in public, and when he acted as host to distinguished foreign visitors. He received no other salary than what his professorship allowed him, but he was granted pro officio from the treasury of the University such sums of money as occasions demanded. An interesting piece of information

is related in the Statutes of the University:

"The Rector is at liberty on the last day of his Rectorship to arrange a dinner for the Professors and the Conservators, if they are available, or he may choose not to have it. If he chooses to have it, then he is on that day in every way to be regarded as Rector, and the Treasurer of the University shall, when the third dish is served, arise and in the name of the University and with a Latin speech present him with four Thaler, or Golden-Gylden, as a sign of gratitude"(1).

c.A Vicechancel- Macchabæus must have desired more order-
lor is appointed.

liness and promptness on the part of the Professors, than they were wont to exhibit, as the Senate in 1545 decided to impose a system of financial penalties on such of its members as arrived late at meetings when matters had to be voted upon, - one Shilling for arriving late, four for total absence.(2). Another sign of Macchabæus's respect for order is the fact that during his first rectorate he finally obtained the appointment of a chancellor of the University, and which was now given to Dr. Christian Terkelsen Morsing, an office which the King had desired Bugenhagen to fill. The Chancellor of the Kingdom was, according to the new statutes of the University, also to be Chancellor of the University, in order to keep close connection between the financial interests of the Kingdom as a whole and those of the University. It is obvious that the Chancellor of the Kingdom would be able to exercise the office at the University in name only,

(1) Cf. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 385.

(2) Ny Kirkehistoriske Samlinger, op. cit., Vol. I., p. 5.

wherefore the King suggested the creation of a Vice-chancellor, who was generally termed an Adjutor. This, however, had not been done. The King then again vainly attempted to secure the service of Bugenhagen. But, finally, during the Rectorate of Macchabæus, the matter was settled.⁽¹⁾.

d.Cases of Indictment
of Protestants of
differing Views.

The University had to maintain disputations with several non-conforming individuals during these years. The Acts of Consistorium refer to some of those. In 1545, while Macchabæus was Rector, a certain Simon Corb, or Corber, was indicted to appear before the professors. He seems to have advocate exceedingly unorthodox views. "While I worked against the Catholics I was loved by the Lutherans, but now when I criticise the Lutherans, they hate me and will not tolerate me", he said⁽²⁾. "I have nothing to do with sectarians", he continued, "I am of the sect of Christ, and all that I possess I have through experience". He accused the professors of non-Apostolic practices. This and another case, that of Adrian Hollender (Dutchman) who would recognize no baptism in water, but only that of the Holy Ghost, provide illustrations of the contemporary interest in Apostolic Christianity, which the open Bible

(1) Rördam, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 390-391.

(2) Acta Consistorii, 1545, published in Rördam, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 25.

and the preaching of the eager reformers incited among the People. It seems certain that both of the persons mentioned above were Dutchmen, but the fact remains, as we shall see later, that the work of the reformed Church was not only opposed by reactionary Roman Catholics, but criticized - in Denmark as elsewhere - by some who felt, that it did not go far enough.

8. Macchabeus's liberal, evang. outlook, and its Significance. Macchabeus's name is not mentioned in connection with the latter disputes, although

it is quite impossible that he had not been present. He seems, however, to have been especially on guard when Roman Catholicism made its attacks on the new Church, while he hesitated to urge charges of heresy against Protestants of convictions which perhaps diverged from that of the Lutheran Church. We shall later account for the liberal protestant attitude of Dr. Macchabeus and the narrower, strict Lutheran Orthodoxy of his colleague, Peder Palladius, which caused the two divines some difficulty in hearty cooperation and fellowship. But it is obvious that Macchabeus's broad experience had left its mark upon him. The influence of Humanism as a whole, the new scientific outlook of the day, the wide fellowship with leaders from several lands, the international outlook and, primarily, his emphasis upon the fundamental tenet of the Reformation: Justification by Faith alone,

made him the liberal Protestant whose range of religious fellowship and appreciation could not be confined to that determined by a narrow dogmatism of faith and practice. The importance of just such an attitude at this time at the headquarters of the reformed Church and its seat of clerical training has, so far as we know, never been stated. It was well for the new Church and the evangelical springtime that there were men of broad experience and comprehensive outlook who dared combat the adherents of another - however new - strict confessionism. It gave the Evangelical movement a chance to gather sufficient strength to "stand on its own feet" when internal strife arose in settling such matters as were overlooked in the main struggle for the Reformation. Lutheran Church Historians laud the work of Peder Balladius because of his strict Lutheran attitude. Judged from a confessional, or denominational, point of view, that may be understood. But the decisive influence of the foreigner, Dr. Macchabeus, whose work, because of his position, was mainly done behind the public scene, has been quite ignored⁽¹⁾.

(1) It seems almost incredible, although true, that the Danish historian, Fabricius, in his "Danmarks Reformationshistorie", which is being published at present, in his treatment of the Reformation, mentions the name of Macchabeus only once and merely as "the colleague of Palladius"! 1.

4. Macchabæus heads Palladius's duties as a Superintendent and the Danish University from 1545. his declining health demanded, in 1545,

his withdrawal from the immediate and direct work of the University. He ceased lecturing and gave up the salary connected with his professorship. The Professors decided, however, that they would continue to consider him a member of the staff of the University, and they secured his consent to assist them in difficult matters which might come before them in their judicial capacity. Dr. Jens Sinningius was appointed in his place, and Magister Niels Hemmingsen, another disciple of Melanchthon and a warm adherent of Macchabæus and his theological points of view, was appointed to teach Dialectics and Hebrew. In this position the latter came into close contact with the theological faculty, whose leading figure he was destined to be for more than a quarter of a Century after the death of Macchabæus.⁽¹⁾ As Palladius thus no longer served at the University and his time was given wholly to the Church, Macchabæus finished his first term in the rectorate as indisputably the primary figure in the theological faculty and, consequently, in the whole University.

5. Scotsmen in Copenhagen at this time. It is unfortunate that the Matriculation Rolls of the University of the 16th Century have

(1) Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 174.

been lost. But other documents, particularly Bursary Accounts, *give* us some information concerning the students who visited the University of Copenhagen during this period. The foreign students seem to have come from Sweden and Scotland. A few Dutchmen, some Germans, and even a Spaniard are mentioned. We are, of course, particularly interested in the Scottish students, who visited Copenhagen.

a. Students at the University. Scottish authorities inform us that Erskine

of Dun, one of the early Lay leaders of the Reformation in Scotland, studied at Wittenberg under Bugenhagen and proceeded into Denmark, where he attended the lectures of Macchabæus⁽¹⁾. In 1544, a Georg Scotus is mentioned in the Acts of Consistorium as being promoted Magister Artium, and we are not in doubt as to the successful students nationality! We shall in due time mention the distinguished Scottish personages that visited Denmark during Macchabæus's life in Denmark. They and his students kept him informed about the religious situation in his homeland, which he obviously watched with keen interest. It was in Scotland that he had been forced to leave position, relatives and friends, when he began to advocate Protestant views and to expose

(1) Burton, John Hill, The Scot abroad, 2 Vols., Vol. II, p. 89. Will. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London 1865.

Roman Catholicism. The Scottish Reformers, who at this time prepared their final attacks on the old Church, must have considered Macchabeus a valuable asset in this struggle as in 1544 he received a call to return to Scotland, but his place in the Danish University, Church and Reformation forbade him to leave so soon. We do not know from whom the call came, and he may have felt that there was as yet no work for him to do in Scotland. The land had to ~~break~~ the power of the old Church before the positive work of building the new Church along Evangelical lines could begin.

b. John Gaw, Chaplain at the Cathedral Church. Another Scotsman, surely a fellow-student from the homeland, John Gaw, had also found a place in the Danish Reformation. We find Johannes Gawye on the Matriculation Rolls of St. Andrews in 1507. In 1509 he appears as Johannes Gaw, and finally in 1512 again as Johannes Gawye⁽¹⁾. He was a contemporary of John MacAlpin at St. Andrews. The persecution of Protestants in Scotland, following Patrick Hamilton's martyrdom, brought John Gaw out as a Reformer. He and, apparently, others of his countrymen fled to Malmö, then a part of Denmark. In Malmö John Gaw took an active part in the Evangelical movement

(1) Early Records of the University of St. Andrews, op.cit., Vol. VIII, pp. 201, 204, 100.

and, in 1533, he translated from Danish into Scottish the tract, "The Right Way into the Kingdom of Heaven"⁽¹⁾, written by Christiern Pedersen the renowned Reformer in Malmö, and the Danish Translator of the Bible. He had the tract printed in Malmö and sent to Scotland, where it is considered to be the oldest Protestant tract distributed in the land. He married a Danish woman, Birgitte, by whom he had one daughter. When the Reformation had been established in Denmark, John Gaw became a chaplain, and - as far as we can ascertain - the first evangelical one, in the great Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen. We do not know when he began his chaplaincy there, nor exactly how long he served, but a successor to him is mentioned in 1553. His wife died in 1551 and Superintendent Peder Palladius delivered her funeral oration, from which a few biographical data may be gathered.⁽²⁾.

c. Visitors. There was undoubtedly a little colony of Scottish Protestants in Malmö and Copenhagen. The fellowship of Macchabæus and Gaw in work and home must have been a source of mutual inspiration. They had served the cause of the Reformation in their native land by a risky pioneering of it. Their continued interest

(1) "The Right Way to the Kingdom of Heavine," by John'Gau; Scottish Text Socy., W. Blackwood & Sons, Edinb. and Lond. 1886-87. The title in Danish is as follows: "Den rette Vej til Himmeriges Rige".

(2) Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I. pp. 693-694.

in the work for evangelical Christianity in Scotland is sufficiently evidenced by their literary contributions, Macchabæus supporting David Lindsay, and Gaw translating the tract mentioned above. Scotland contributed Macchabæus to the Danish Reformation, but there is reason to believe that a treatise might also be written on the influence of Denmark upon the Scottish Reformation.

A strange and fascinating coincidence it seems, that two of the earliest Reformers in Scotland should, along widely different ways, meet in Denmark, almost a decade and a half later, one at the head of the University, the other preaching in the ~~primary~~ cathedral, of the land of their adoption.

B. From 1546 till the End of Macchabæus's second term of Rectorship, in 1550.

1. The general Situation of the day as relation to the Reformation. Macchabæus's first period in the Rectorate was over in 1545, but his position was more important than ever. We shall attempt to trace the course of events with which he was connected during the next five years, till the end of his second term as Rector, in 1550.

a. Pestilence raging in Copenhagen in 1546. The year of 1546 was quiet at the University. A pestilence had broken out in Copenhagen during the preceding year, and it ravaged so severely that the University closed its doors for a season. People died in such large numbers that a

special cemetery had to be secured outside the city.

Students left for their homes, and the Professors sought refuge in one of the larger country estates under the jurisdiction of the University.

b. The King's attitude toward the Reformation at large. So far, the Reformation in Denmark had been able to continue its progress without suffering a great deal from the signal events and issues in the surrounding lands at this time. The Danish Papal adherents had repeatedly expressed their hopes and confidence in the calling of a General Church Council, to settle the struggle between Protestants and Roman Catholics. But that was, so far as Denmark was concerned, a vain hope. Neither the Danish Reformers, nor the King, would ever consider participating in such a council unless it were independent of Rome. The Pope's call of a council at Trent made no impression in Denmark; in fact, the King wrote to his friends in Germany, that every council which the Pope might call against the true Christian Religion, they might as well ignore, that no protestations should be made against it, nor any appeals made to it, which would serve only to encourage the Pope and his allies.⁽¹⁾ In spite of the fact that the King as Duke of Sleswig and Holstein was a German prince, he kept clear of the religious-political movements on the

(1) Pontoppidan, *Annales*, Vol. III, pp. 285-287.
Rörda, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 98.

Continent, even in Germany. Luther's death and the ensuing troubles of the Evangelical Churches in Germany made no change in the Danish King's stand in that regard. He was deeply concerned about the Reformation in the neighbouring states, but took no direct part therein.

c. The Conquerors The situation at home demanded his full
Treatment of Adversa- attention. It owed its victory in
ries and the Burning of Witches.

a decisive degree to the secular powers of the land. The Roman Catholic Church had been broken, but Roman Catholicism had not yet been replaced by Evangelicalism in the hearts of the People. The leaders of the old system had been silenced, but primarily by arrest, threats and disputations, the outcome of which was predetermined. The measures which Roman Catholicism employed against opponents of its doctrines are well known, but it does not arouse our admiration to learn that the former Roman Catholic Bishop of Copenhagen, the Humanist, Joachim Rönnow, who remained unwaveringly faithful to Rome, was retained in prison from 1536 till 1544, when death finally set him free. We shall later see that the same treatment was accorded to two other clerics, who advocated a more thorough Reformation than the Superintendents desired. In fact, one shudders to

read the threats of Peder Palladius against those who would not conform to the new regime. He advised the people, that if they found a "hater of preachers", then they should protect their minister and forward such a person's name and address to the Superintendent, "and I shall promise you, on the salvation of my soul, as my Lord and King has promised it me, that he shall no more darken your doors, if the Blue Tower can do anything about it"(1).

The treatment accorded the so-called "witches" seems to have been approved by the same Superintendent, who so decisively spoke of "the clear and bright day of the Gospel", which now superseded the darkness of Papistry. He tells us, somewhat jokingly, how the witches were being caught in Lund. "You must not remain quiet if you know a witch; they receive now their right reward, they can no longer hold out in this bright day and light of the Gospel! Sometime ago a flock of them was burned in Malmö, Köge and other places, and we have since learned that another group has been gathered in Malmö to be burned. They are being chased as wolves, - and recently twelve and forty were burned. One reveals the other, and they pass out into the Other World together. - Woman, beware how you use your mouth! Noblemen will come to you in

(1) Kirkehistoriske Samlinger, Vol. II, p. 574. Helweg, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 96. The Blue Tower was the dreaded dungeon in Copenhagen, where - among others - a century later the unhappy daughter of Chr. IV, Eleonora Christine Ulfeldt, lay imprisoned for many years.

Peasants' clothing, appear with a wrapped leg and ask your advice - in order to secure a word from you, so that they may seize you, throw you up into the gallows and burn you, skin and bone, which served you right".⁽¹⁾ One wonders at such a spirit. But the fact that "witches" employed the Roman Catholic usages and appealed to such saints as were believed to exercise power over certain aspects of life, classified them, in the judgement of the Reformers, among religious opponents to whom punishment was due, and the judges of "witches" were not slow to appeal to the verdict of the Old Testament concerning witches. Denmark was by no means alone, however, in such treatment of many innocent persons at the hands of Evangelicals.

All of this belongs to the negative side of the reformed Church at this time. Pestilences, failing harvests, hunger and economic depression provided the King with sufficient problems in his own country. The course of the Reformation was also far from being finished. The new Ordinance of the Church was far from being established everywhere, the Evangelical ministers were sorely in economic need, not to speak of the poverty of their evangelical knowledge and experience and their spiritual lives.

(1) Kirkehistoriske Samlinger, op. cit., Vol. VI, pp. 581-582. Helweg, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 122-123.

d. Macchabæus describes the Condition of the Church and the University.

Nevertheless, the condition of the Church and the University seems to have been judged quite satisfactory at the

time. We have a personal letter of Macchabæus, dated May 31, 1546 written to one of his special friends, the Superintendent of Sleswig, Jacob Fabricius. The letter is composed in such a fine manner and tone, that we have rendered it in English, as follows:

In my own name and that of my dear wife, with all reverence, I wish health to you and to my venerable friend and the good Theophilus, lovingly and respectfully, and inform you that we, along with our little son and household, are in good health, praying that God will make us hear the same things and ever better about you and yours.

The circumstances of our life are neither too good, nor extremely bad, but tolerable with some degree of moderation. The condition, it is true, of the Churches and the School (the University) with us, somehow or other is good - by the grace of God. All these things in particular the bearer of the letter, whom I must commend eagerly and gladly as a very worthy man both for my own service and his need, will be able to set before you face to face, faithfully and in detail.

I pray that God may preserve your Excellency safe and sound and happy for a long time. The same to the most Reverend N. Bishop and his worthy wife and to Theophilus of Gerogii and to the Rev. Johannes Sartorius, pastor of Sleswig, with all others, etc. venerable defenders..

Copenhagen, May 31, 1546,

Yours Excellency,

Johannes Macchabæus. Dr. (1)

(1) A copy of the letter is printed in the Latin in Rörden, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 36, Nr. 22, cf. Langebek (Vol. I, Nr. 71,) who discovered it in the Collections of Jacob Fabricius, Univ. Bibl. Donat. Variorum, Vol. 122, p. 4.

2. The Synod of But the temporary closing of the University,
Antvorskov in
1546: Decrees because of the pestilence in 1546, did not
and Tone.

leave the Professors idle. In fact, it was employed in a yet more thorough Reformation of the Church. The theological professors, Macchabæus, Chrysostomus and Sinningius⁽¹⁾ the Superintendents and other leaders in the Church met in a Synod at Antvorskov in October to review the Church Ordinance in the light of the contemporary ecclesiastical situation. This proved to be an important meeting. A large number of decrees were issued regarding problems which sorely needed attention⁽²⁾. It is obvious that Macchabæus played no insignificant part in this Synod. Palladius was the chief man among the Superintendents, Macchabæus at the University: their authority was unquestionable. We must mention some of the more important decisions and decrees.

The Elevation of the Bread at the Lord's Supper was not prohibited, but was termed "a human custom", which for the sake of the ignorance of the People might be retained a while, but was, eventually to be abolished. Anyone who stayed away from Communion was to be declared under a Ban, unable to appear as Sponsor at Baptisms or to be present at Communion and Weddings. Clergymen

(1) Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 185.

(2) Decretum Synodi Antvorskoviensis 1546, Pontoppidan, Annales, Vol. III, pp. 287-296. Helweg, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 99ff.

who still lived illegitimately with their housekeepers were to be lawfully married under pain of punishment. Ministers who had not yet learned the fundamental tenets of the evangelical movement were to seek instruction at the University, or from their Superintendent, or their immediate superior. The old books were to be removed from such clergymen as yet "tasted of the old leaven". The practice ~~that~~ ministers who had no idea of how to preach merely read some evangelical exposition of Scripture before their congregation, was no longer to be tolerated. It should, perhaps not unjustly, be considered laziness! No one with shaven head was to mount a pulpit "as his appearance will spoil anything that he, by the preaching of the Word of God, might have built up", nor was any one in future to take the monastic vow. In fact, no preacher was ever to appear in a pulpit, or hold office, without the consent of the Superintendent. All practice of Simon was condemned, as when a pastor secured a living by agreeing to a diminution of his income from the parish. Any papistical remains in the Church which might feed the superstitions of the People were to be removed. All the smaller altars for special masses were to be done away with, leaving only the main one. The wearing of Rosaries was to be abolished under pain of Excommunication. Any pastor who

supported Papistry in any way was to be removed from office. At Worship a prayer was to be offered from the pulpit for the Service of the Word⁽¹⁾.

The decrees of 1546 were given in a strict and commanding tone. Nothing new was really added to the original ordinance of 1540, but the Synod of Antvorskov aimed at bringing it into practice. The decisions offered clear evidence of the strong evangelical position of their authors.

3. Macchabæus loses We shall, in a later chapter, make a
two Colleagues,
1547/48. closer study of the influence which

Dr. Macchabæus exerted upon the future leaders of the Danish Church, but it is even now apparent that his influence as a theological professor far outweighed that of any other professor during the time of his service. No one worked so incessantly as he in the training of a reformed ministry. Palladius was in name connected with the University, but his work as Superintendent left but little time for the academic matters. Macchabæus bore the main burden of theological instruction, as the next few years bring out in no uncertain way.

During the academic session of 1547/48 his two main colleagues in the Faculty of Theology were removed from the Staff, one by death, the other by taking

(1) Helweg, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 99-101.

a.Dr. over a superintendency. The former, Dr. Jens Sinningius, Jens Sinn-
ingius seems to have been a very excellent professor in Divinity.
dies from
the Pesti- He began his studies at the University of Wittenberg in
lence,

1547. 1534, where he took the degrees of Master of Arts and

Bachelor of Theology and won the favour of Melanchthon.

He returned to Denmark in 1538, taught Dialectics and

Hebrew in the University and was promoted to be Professor

of Theology in 1547, when Palladius had to give up that

work. He married in 1547, but the Acts of Consistorium

reveal to us some of the troubles, which his marriage

caused him. Shortly after the wedding his wife proved

unfaithful to him, and his colleagues had to present

him with the choice of either securing a divorce from

her, or of resigning his post in the University. He hes-

itated some time until the Rector in June 1547 by royal

order demanded a decision. The "pious and innocent man",

we are told, agreed to the divorce. Only five months

later he was attacked by the Pestilence and died after

three days illness, on November 30th 1547. He was ad-

mired by all, and his death was a serious and lamented

loss to the University⁽¹⁾. He and Macchabæus seem very

similar in outlook, character and attitude, and were

both devoted disciples of Melanchthon.

b.Dr.Oluf His other colleague, Dr. Oluf Chrysostomus,
Chrysostomus

becomes Superin- was one of the early Danish Reformers, who
tendent, 1548.

through Humanism seems to have broken with

(1) Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 553-560, gives a short biography of Sinningius.

Roman Catholicism and joined the movement of the Reformation. He was one of the teachers in the evangelical theological school in Malmö, from which he was called to be preacher at the Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen. It seems quite possible that it was through him that John Gaw secured his chaplaincy in the same church. Upon Bugenhagen's departure in 1539, Chrysostomus became professor of Theology at the University, and his name appears in practically all the affairs in which the theological faculty engaged till the time of his removal. He possessed the aggressive spirit of a reformer. Beside his professorship, he held the position of Preacher and Guardian of the Church of Our Lady, which brought him into contact with the people of Copenhagen. He was disliked because of his sharp and bitter language, and as strife arose between him and the Citizens, he was called to the Superintendency of North Jutland in May 1548⁽¹⁾. This left Macchabæus alone as theological professor in the University of Copenhagen.

4. The "Interim" Controversy considered at the University of Copenhagen in 1548.

The importance of the place which Macchabæus held in the course of the Danish Reformation is also substantiated by the

confidence which the King repeatedly placed in him.

Palladius and he worked together as an inseparable pair of ecclesiastical leaders and royal counsellors,

(1) Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 485-494 gives a short biography of Chrysostomus.

the former as head of the Church, the latter as the primary theologian of the University. Two important matters occurred in 1548, in which the two theologians proved co-authors of judgement regarding the religious issues of the day.

a. The King seeks the Counsel of Palladius and Macchabæus Regarding the "Interim". On March 30, 1548 the King wrote them a confidential letter in which he reported the unfortunate circumstances

under which the adherents of evangelicism fared in Germany, and he enclosed a tract about the Mass, written by Michael Heldung, titular Bishop of Sidon, Suffragan of Mainz, in which the Roman Catholic point of view regarding Communion was again asserted. The King closed his letter with the following prayer: "May the Almighty God sustain His Church in Grace, and preserve us from such terrible rubbish, and make us true through His Grace and Blessing until the End"⁽¹⁾. Palladius and Macchabæus composed a thorough refutation of the tract, worded it in sharp tone, and sent it with a letter to the King. Both the letter and the refutation have been preserved.⁽²⁾

But even more significant is the attitude of Palladius and Macchabæus towards the "Interim" controversy. Denmark was not at that time implicated in the

(1) The Letter of the King is printed in Nye Danske Magasin, Vol. II, pp. 146-147. Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 192.
(2) The letter of the two theologians is dated: Die Mercurii ante Dominicam Jubilate 1549. It is found, as is also the Refutation, in Schumacher, Gel. Länn. Briefe, Vol. III, pp. 105-128.

strife concerning the "Interim". In spite of the fact that Christian III was a member of the League of Schmalkald, he kept out of the War with the Emperor Charles V. But he was not only Danish King, but also a German Prince, Duke of Sleswig and Holstein. Charles V, after defeating the League of Schmalkald, sent the "Interim" to the Senate of the city of Hamburg and demanded that the temporary settlement regarding questions of Faith should be accepted by the city, which it in turn refused to do. The Council of the city feared that Charles V. would make the same demand of Christian III for the Southern Provinces of Denmark, wherefore, on June 29, 1548, led by the Superintendent of Hamburg, Dr. Johannes Apinas, it wrote to the Theologians at the University of Copenhagen, warning them against the "Interim" and asking them to prepare to counsel the King concerning the issues at stake. Both the University and the King replied to the letter from Hamburg. Only two weeks later, on July 12, Palladius and the Rector of the University answered for the Theologians and the Clergy of Copenhagen, that even if the King had not yet received the "Interim", he was well aware of the dangerous errors and secret intentions concerning the Faith, that he would rather take any risk than accept such a dogmatic verdict, "devised by Satanic art and cunning to destroy the Church". The theologians

10-11-12-13-14-15-16-17-18-19-20-21-22-23-24-25-26-27-28-29-30-31-32-33-34-35-36-37-38-39-40-41-42-43-44-45-46-47-48-49-50-51-52-53-54-55-56-57-58-59-60-61-62-63-64-65-66-67-68-69-70-71-72-73-74-75-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-94-95-96-97-98-99-100-101-102-103-104-105-106-107-108-109-110-111-112-113-114-115-116-117-118-119-120-121-122-123-124-125-126-127-128-129-130-131-132-133-134-135-136-137-138-139-140-141-142-143-144-145-146-147-148-149-150-151-152-153-154-155-156-157-158-159-160-161-162-163-164-165-166-167-168-169-170-171-172-173-174-175-176-177-178-179-180-181-182-183-184-185-186-187-188-189-190-191-192-193-194-195-196-197-198-199-200-201-202-203-204-205-206-207-208-209-210-211-212-213-214-215-216-217-218-219-220-221-222-223-224-225-226-227-228-229-230-231-232-233-234-235-236-237-238-239-240-241-242-243-244-245-246-247-248-249-250-251-252-253-254-255-256-257-258-259-260-261-262-263-264-265-266-267-268-269-270-271-272-273-274-275-276-277-278-279-280-281-282-283-284-285-286-287-288-289-290-291-292-293-294-295-296-297-298-299-300-301-302-303-304-305-306-307-308-309-310-311-312-313-314-315-316-317-318-319-320-321-322-323-324-325-326-327-328-329-330-331-332-333-334-335-336-337-338-339-340-341-342-343-344-345-346-347-348-349-350-351-352-353-354-355-356-357-358-359-360-361-362-363-364-365-366-367-368-369-370-371-372-373-374-375-376-377-378-379-380-381-382-383-384-385-386-387-388-389-390-391-392-393-394-395-396-397-398-399-400-401-402-403-404-405-406-407-408-409-410-411-412-413-414-415-416-417-418-419-420-421-422-423-424-425-426-427-428-429-430-431-432-433-434-435-436-437-438-439-440-441-442-443-444-445-446-447-448-449-450-451-452-453-454-455-456-457-458-459-460-461-462-463-464-465-466-467-468-469-470-471-472-473-474-475-476-477-478-479-480-481-482-483-484-485-486-487-488-489-490-491-492-493-494-495-496-497-498-499-500-501-502-503-504-505-506-507-508-509-510-511-512-513-514-515-516-517-518-519-520-521-522-523-524-525-526-527-528-529-530-531-532-533-534-535-536-537-538-539-540-541-542-543-544-545-546-547-548-549-550-551-552-553-554-555-556-557-558-559-560-561-562-563-564-565-566-567-568-569-570-571-572-573-574-575-576-577-578-579-580-581-582-583-584-585-586-587-588-589-590-591-592-593-594-595-596-597-598-599-600-601-602-603-604-605-606-607-608-609-610-611-612-613-614-615-616-617-618-619-620-621-622-623-624-625-626-627-628-629-630-631-632-633-634-635-636-637-638-639-640-641-642-643-644-645-646-647-648-649-650-651-652-653-654-655-656-657-658-659-660-661-662-663-664-665-666-667-668-669-670-671-672-673-674-675-676-677-678-679-680-681-682-683-684-685-686-687-688-689-690-691-692-693-694-695-696-697-698-699-700-701-702-703-704-705-706-707-708-709-710-711-712-713-714-715-716-717-718-719-720-721-722-723-724-725-726-727-728-729-730-731-732-733-734-735-736-737-738-739-740-741-742-743-744-745-746-747-748-749-750-751-752-753-754-755-756-757-758-759-760-761-762-763-764-765-766-767-768-769-770-771-772-773-774-775-776-777-778-779-780-781-782-783-784-785-786-787-788-789-790-791-792-793-794-795-796-797-798-799-800-801-802-803-804-805-806-807-808-809-810-811-812-813-814-815-816-817-818-819-820-821-822-823-824-825-826-827-828-829-830-831-832-833-834-835-836-837-838-839-840-841-842-843-844-845-846-847-848-849-850-851-852-853-854-855-856-857-858-859-860-861-862-863-864-865-866-867-868-869-870-871-872-873-874-875-876-877-878-879-880-881-882-883-884-885-886-887-888-889-890-891-892-893-894-895-896-897-898-899-900-901-902-903-904-905-906-907-908-909-910-911-912-913-914-915-916-917-918-919-920-921-922-923-924-925-926-927-928-929-930-931-932-933-934-935-936-937-938-939-940-941-942-943-944-945-946-947-948-949-950-951-952-953-954-955-956-957-958-959-960-961-962-963-964-965-966-967-968-969-970-971-972-973-974-975-976-977-978-979-980-981-982-983-984-985-986-987-988-989-990-991-992-993-994-995-996-997-998-999-1000-1001-1002-1003-1004-1005-1006-1007-1008-1009-1010-1011-1012-1013-1014-1015-1016-1017-1018-1019-1020-1021-1022-1023-1024-1025-1026-1027-1028-1029-1030-1031-1032-1033-1034-1035-1036-1037-1038-1039-1040-1041-1042-1043-1044-1045-1046-1047-1048-1049-1050-1051-1052-1053-1054-1055-1056-1057-1058-1059-1060-1061-1062-1063-1064-1065-1066-1067-1068-1069-1070-1071-1072-1073-1074-1075-1076-1077-1078-1079-1080-1081-1082-1083-1084-1085-1086-1087-1088-1089-1090-1091-1092-1093-1094-1095-1096-1097-1098-1099-1100-1101-1102-1103-1104-1105-1106-1107-1108-1109-1110-1111-1112-1113-1114-1115-1116-1117-1118-1119-1120-1121-1122-1123-1124-1125-1126-1127-1128-1129-1130-1131-1132-1133-1134-1135-1136-1137-1138-1139-1140-1141-1142-1143-1144-1145-1146-1147-1148-1149-1150-1151-1152-1153-1154-1155-1156-1157-1158-1159-1160-1161-1162-1163-1164-1165-1166-1167-1168-1169-1170-1171-1172-1173-1174-1175-1176-1177-1178-1179-1180-1181-1182-1183-1184-1185-1186-1187-1188-1189-1190-1191-1192-1193-1194-1195-1196-1197-1198-1199-1200-1201-1202-1203-1204-1205-1206-1207-1208-1209-1210-1211-1212-1213-1214-1215-1216-1217-1218-1219-1220-1221-1222-1223-1224-1225-1226-1227-1228-1229-1230-1231-1232-1233-1234-1235-1236-1237-1238-1239-1240-1241-1242-1243-1244-1245-1246-1247-1248-1249-1250-1251-1252-1253-1254-1255-1256-1257-1258-1259-1260-1261-1262-1263-1264-1265-1266-1267-1268-1269-1270-1271-1272-1273-1274-1275-1276-1277-1278-1279-1280-1281-1282-1283-1284-1285-1286-1287-1288-1289-1290-1291-1292-1293-1294-1295-1296-1297-1298-1299-1300-1301-1302-1303-1304-1305-1306-1307-1308-1309-1310-1311-1312-1313-1314-1315-1316-1317-1318-1319-1320-1321-1322-1323-1324-1325-1326-1327-1328-1329-1330-1331-1332-1333-1334-1335-1336-1337-1338-1339-1340-1341-1342-1343-1344-1345-1346-1347-1348-1349-1350-1351-1352-1353-1354-1355-1356-1357-1358-1359-1360-1361-1362-1363-1364-1365-1366-1367-1368-1369-1370-1371-1372-1373-1374-1375-1376-1377-1378-1379-1380-1381-1382-1383-1384-1385-1386-1387-1388-1389-1390-1391-1392-1393-1394-1395-1396-1397-1398-1399-1400-1401-1402-1403-1404-1405-1406-1407-1408-1409-1410-1411-1412-1413-1414-1415-1416-1417-1418-1419-1420-1421-1422-1423-1424-1425-1426-1427-1428-1429-1430-1431-1432-1433-1434-1435-1436-1437-1438-1439-1440-1441-1442-1443-1444-1445-1446-1447-1448-1449-1450-1451-1452-1453-1454-1455-1456-1457-1458-1459-1460-1461-1462-1463-1464-1465-1466-1467-1468-1469-1470-1471-1472-1473-1474-1475-1476-1477-1478-1479-1480-1481-1482-1483-1484-1485-1486-1487-1488-1489-1490-1491-1492-1493-1494-1495-1496-1497-1498-1499-1500-1501-1502-1503-1504-1505-1506-1507-1508-1509-1510-1511-1512-1513-1514-1515-1516-1517-1518-1519-1520-1521-1522-1523-1524-1525-1526-1527-1528-1529-1530-1531-1532-1533-1534-1535-1536-1537-1538-1539-1540-1541-1542-1543-1544-1545-1546-1547-1548-1549-1550-1551-1552-1553-1554-1555-1556-1557-1558-1559-1560-1561-1562-1563-1564-1565-1566-1567-1568-1569-1570-1571-1572-1573-1574-1575-1576-1577-1578-1579-1580-1581-1582-1583-1584-1585-1586-1587-1588-1589-1590-1591-1592-1593-1594-1595-1596-1597-1598-1599-1600-1601-1602-1603-1604-1605-1606-1607-1608-1609-1610-1611-1612-1613-1614-1615-1616-1617-1618-1619-1620-1621-1622-1623-1624-1625-1626-1627-1628-1629-1630-1631-1632-1633-1634-1635-1636-1637-1638-1639-1640-1641-1642-1643-1644-1645-1646-1647-1648-1649-1650-1651-1652-1653-1654-1655-1656-1657-1658-1659-1660-1661-1662-1663-1664-1665-1666-1667-1668-1669-1670-1671-1672-1673-1674-1675-1676-1677-1678-1679-1680-1681-1682-1683-1684-1685-1686-1687-1688-1689-1690-1691-1692-1693-1694-1695-1696-1697-1698-1699-1700-1701-1702-1703-1704-1705-1706-1707-1708-1709-1710-1711-1712-1713-1714-1715-1716-1717-1718-1719-1720-1721-1722-1723-1724-1725-1726-1727-1728-1729-1730-1731-1732-1733-1734-1735-1736-1737-1738-1739-1740-1741-1742-1743-1744-1745-1746-1747-1748-1749-1750-1751-1752-1753-1754-1755-1756-1757-1758-1759-1760-1761-1762-1763-1764-1765-1766-1767-1768-1769-1770-1771-1772-1773-1774-1775-1776-1777-1778-1779-1780-1781-1782-1783-1784-1785-1786-1787-1788-1789-1790-1791-1792-1793-1794-1795-1796-1797-1798-1799-1800-1801-1802-1803-1804-1805-1806-1807-1808-1809-1810-1811-1812-1813-1814-1815-1816-1817-1818-1819-1820-1821-1822-1823-1824-1825-1826-1827-1828-1829-1830-1831-1832-1833-1834-1835-1836-1837-1838-1839-1840-1841-1842-1843-1844-1845-1846-1847-1848-1849-1850-1851-1852-1853-1854-1855-1856-1857-1858-1859-1860-1861-1862-1863-1864-1865-1866-1867-1868-1869-1870-1871-1872-1873-1874-1875-1876-1877-1878-1879-1880-1881-1882-1883-1884-1885-1886-1887-1888-1889-1890-1891-1892-1893-1894-1895-1896-1897-1898-1899-1900-1901-1902-1903-1904-1905-1906-1907-1908-1909-1910-1911-1912-1913-1914-1915-1916-1917-1918-1919-1920-1921-1922-1923-1924-1925-1926-1927-1928-1929-1930-1931-1932-1933-1934-1935-1936-1937-1938-1939-1940-1941-1942-1943-1944-1945-1946-1947-1948-1949-1950-1951-1952-1953-1954-1955-1956-1957-1958-1959-1960-1961-1962-1963-1964-1965-1966-1967-1968-1969-1970-1971-1972-1973-1974-1975-1976-1977-1978-1979-1980-1981-1982-1983-1984-1985-1986-1987-1988-1989-1990-1991-1992-1993-1994-1995-1996-1997-1998-1999-2000-2001-2002-2003-2004-2005-2006-2007-2008-2009-2010-2011-2012-2013-2014-2015-2016-2017-2018-2019-2020-2021-2022-2023-2024-2025-2026-2027-2028-2029-2030-2031-2032-2033-2034-2035-2036-2037-2038-2039-2040-2041-2042-2043-2044-2045-2046-2047-2048-2049-2050-2051-2052-2053-2054-2055-2056-2057-2058-2059-2060-2061-2062-2063-2064-2065-2066-2067-2068-2069-2070-2071-2072-2073-2074-2075-2076-2077-2078-2079-2080-2081-2082-2083-2084-2085-2086-2087-2088-2089-2090-2091-2092-2093-2094-2095-2096-2097-2098-2099-2100-2101-2102-2103-2104-2105-2106-2107-2108-2109-2110-2111-2112-2113-2114-2115-2116-2117-2118-2119-2120-2121-2122-2123-2124-2125-2126-2127-2128-2129-2130-2131-2132-2133-2134-2135-2136-2137-2138-2139-2140-2141-2142-2143-2144-2145-2146-2147-2148-2149-2150-2151-2152-2153-2154-2155-2156-2157-2158-2159-2160-2161-2162-2163-2164-2165-2166-2167-2168-2169-2170-2171-2172-2173-2174-2175-2176-2177-2178-2179-2180-2181-2182-2183-2184-2185-2186-2187-2188-2189-2190-2191-2192-2193-2194-2195-2196-2197-2198-2199-2200-2201-2202-2203-2204-2205-2206-2207-2208-2209-2210-2211-2212-2213-2214-2215-2216-2217-2218-2219-2220-2221-2222-2223-2224-2225-2226-2227-2228-2229-2230-2231-2232-2233-2234-2235-2236-2237-2238-2239-2240-2241-2242-2243-2244-2245-2246-2247-2248-2249-2250-2251-2252-2253-2254-2255-2256-2257-2258-2259-2260-2261-2262-2263-2264-2265-2266-2267-2268-2269-2270-2271-2272-2273-2274-2275-2276-2277-2278-2279-2280-2281-2282-2283-2284-2285-2286-2287-2288-2289-2290-2291-2292-2293-2294-2295-2296-2297-2298-2299-2300-2301-2302-2303-2304-2305-2306-2307-2308-2309-2310-2311-2312-2313-2314-2315-2316-2317-2318-2319-2320-2321-2322-2323-2324-2325-2326-2327-2328-2329-2330-2331-2332-2333-2334-2335-2336-2337-2338-2339-2340-2341-2342-2343-2344-2345-2346-2347-2348-2349-2350-2351-2352-2353-2354-2355-2356-2357-2358-2359-2360-2361-2362-2363-2364-2365-2366-2367-2368-2369-2370-2371-2372-2373-2374-2375-2376-2377-2378-2379-2380-2381-2382-2383-2384-2385-2386-2387-2388-2389-2390-2391-2392-2393-2394-2395-2396-2397-2398-2399-2400-2401-2402-2403-2404-2405-2406-2407-2408-2409-2410-2411-2412-2413-2414-2415-2416-2417-2418-2419-2420-2421-2422-2423-2424-2425-2426-2427-2428-2429-2430-2431-2432-2433-2434-2435-2436-2437-2438-2439-2440-2441-2442-2443-2444-2445-2446-2447-2448-2449-2450-2451-2452-2453-2454-2455-2456-2457-2458-2459-2460-2461-2462-2463-2464-2465-2466-2467-2468-2469-2470-2471-2472-2473-2474-2475-2476-2477-2478-2479-2480-2481-2482-2483-2484-2485-2486-2487-2488-2489-2490-2491-2492-2493-2494-2495-2496-2497-2498-2499-2500-2501-2502-2503-2504-2505-2506-2507-2508-2509-2510-2511-2512-2513-2514-2515-2516-2517-2518-2519-2520-2521-2522-2523-2524-2525-2526-2527-2528-2529-2530-2531-2532-2533-2534-2535-2536-2537-2538-2539-2540-2541-2542-2543-2544-2545-2546-2547-2548-2549-2550-2551-2552-2553-2554-2555-2556-2557-2558-2559-2560-2561-2562-2563-2564-2565-2566-2567-2568-2569-2570-2571-2572-2573-2574-2575-2576-2577-2578-2579-2580-2581-2582-2583-2584-2585-2586-2587-2588-2589-2590-2591-2592-2593-2594-2595-2596-2597-2598-2599-2600-2601-2602-2603-2604-2605-2606-2607-2608-2609-2610-2611-2612-2613-2614-2615-2616-2617-2618-2619-2620-2621-2622-2623-2624-2625-262

would later, in another tract, expose the errors in the "Interim"⁽¹⁾. The King also wrote to the council of Hamburg, on July 13, 1548, stating that: "We will, with the help of God, trust in, and care for, the true Christian Religion. We can not be turned away from the saving Word on which we and other people build the cure and salvation of our souls"⁽²⁾.

b. Palladius's and Macchabæus's letter to the King, and their Clergy of Hamburg to expose the "Interim" Consideration.

found an opportunity of fulfilment when the King shortly afterwards received and handed over to them the tract "Interim" and asked them to give their opinions on it and the whole issue. Palladius and Macchabæus replied to the King on August 11, 1548, in a letter as follows:

"Dei gratiam & pacem per Jesum Christum.

Highborn Prince, Great and Mighty King, Dearest and most Gracious Lord:

May Your Royal Majesty be pleased to know that upon Your Sovereign Grace's command we herewith send to Y.R.M. a writing wherein we have briefly composed some articles, which, according to our opinion, should be good reason why the book called Interim should not be accepted or fully acknowledged in many places which are found to be contrary to the articles of the holy faith and our Christian teachings and the true Christian religion, - so that we can not with a good conscience advise, that it should be enforced but we will in all due submissivness be ready, whenever Y.R.M.'s Sovereignty calls us, to defend with care - and in writing the same Articles, which we have briefly written against the book Interim, - and we shall without hesitation be willing to suffer for this

(1) Rörðam, op, cit., Vol. I, p. 193.

(2) Cf. Inländ. Registr., Thottske Saml. 827 Fol., in Ibid., ~~827~~ Vol. I, p. 194.

what may be merited by God's permission, because all God's chosen children and poor Christians ought to have before them the confession of the Truth according to the saving Word of God and to the honour of God more than anything which is dearest to them on Earth. Wherefore we are also glad in the Lord and thank Him for the great grace with which He has endowed Y.R.M. in His Holy Word; and because we are certain that Y.R.M. will not deviate from the confession of God's truth, we shall not cease to pray to God devotedly and always, that He for the sake of His dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, may more and more strengthen Y.R.M. with his divine and gracious help in all temptations, both body and soul, to his glory and honor.

Dearest and most gracious Lord, we send also Y.R.M. herewith the book Interim and the Consideration of those of Wittenberg, which Y.R.M. let us have. But to Dr. Peiter Capiten, Y.R.M.'s physician and our Rector, we are sending a further explanation and teaching regarding the articles which we have briefly composed in the writing to Y.R.M. whereof Y.R.M. may obtain further proof for every article in the little tract, which otherwise is bare and not sufficiently proven with argument and Scripture as it ought to have been done, - if Y.R.M. had not demanded it in the shortest time possible, - we shall always be found ready, according to Y.R.M.'s Sovereignty's will and command, with our poor subservient service, which is our duty.

Committing to the eternal God.Y.R.M.'s Life, Soul, State and Regime. Written in Y.R.M.'s city of Copenhagen the second day after St. Lauris' day, the year of God MDXLVIII^o

Y.R.M. Sovereignty's subservient Servants,
PETRUS PALLADIUS
JOANNES MACHABÆUS." (1)

This beautiful letter to the King was accompanied, as it says, by a shorter Consideration of "Interim", which we still possess⁽²⁾. Towards the end

(1) Translated from the Danish original. Found in: Schumacher, Andreas, Gelehrter Männer Briefe and die Könige in Dannemark, vom jahr 1522 bis 1587, Kopenhagen und Leipzig, 1759, Vol. III, pp. 128-130.

(2) Dän. Bibl. op. cit., Vol. VI, pp. 195-212.

of the year, the more elaborate and thorough consideration was finished and given over to the Rector of the University as the opinion of the University of Copenhagen on the whole matter⁽¹⁾. Both works testify very favorably to the evangelical faith of the Copenhagen theologians and to the eagerness and thoroughness with which they watched the welfare of the Church.

5. A Pedagogium is The training of a ministry for the evangelical church was one of the most constructive contributions for the realization of the Reformation in Denmark. It was a huge task, as there were 3000-4000 parishes in the whole Kingdom and it took a quarter of a century to effect standardisation of the period of University study necessary for clerical candidates. It was not until the reign of the next King that academic training was made a prerequisite for holding a ministerial office in the Church⁽²⁾. It is interesting, however, in passing, to note the desire at this early stage for an advance in education previous to the Student's admission at the University. The University Ordinance of 1539 had mentioned that a Pædagogium was to be founded as soon as possible in connection with the University. Such pedagogies were frequently to be found attached to universities during

(1) Theologorum Academiæ Hafniensis Judicium de Interim, in Dänische Bibliothec, op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 76-100.

(2) Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, 325.

the 16th Century, as in Tübingen, Rostock, and other evangelical institutions of learning⁽¹⁾. A pedagogy was to bridge the gap between the Cathedral Schools and the University and to prepare the Student to take up specialized studies. It was not until 1548~~x~~ that the University of Copenhagen seriously adopted the plan of instituting "a School of Pedagogy to discipline and teach young persons in order to benefit and further the Religion". The house of the King's physician, a former Vicar's residence, was secured, and the King approved the University's purchase of it in a letter of August 21, 1548, promising that the University should have it free of charge upon the death of its present possessor on condition that the Professors "let a School and Pedagogy be built upon the said residence and keep it up, so that young persons may have their rooms and be disciplined there in learning and bookish arts"⁽²⁾. This took place during the time when Macchabæus was the only professor of theology, and that it was in part his work is not to be doubted. Such an institution might serve well to prepare students for the study of Theology, to further the scientific outlook of the day along the Humanistic lines, which Macchabæus favoured, and to make it possible for students to reside in Copen-

(1) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 196.

(2) Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 43-44.

hagen for their period of study. Thus the University of Copenhagen attempted to meet the demand for a trained evangelical ministry for the Church of the land.

6. Macchabæus elected Rector Magnificus the second time, 1549/50. Macchabæus was again elected Rector in 1549⁽¹⁾. He had carried on the

major part of instruction in Theology for the previous year and was now honoured as the Rector Magnificus for the second time. The year of his rectorate, 1549-50, proved to be crowded with interesting and important events, in which he took a leading part.

a. Attempts to secure some celebrated foreign theologians for the University of Copen.

The teaching staff of the University had to be supplemented. We have already mentioned how Macchabæus

was left alone in the Faculty of Theology in 1548. But other changes took place in related faculties. Magister Jörgen Boie, professor of Pedagogics, had left the University in the beginning of 1548, and Bugenhagen's sister's son, Magister Johannes Lübecke, became his successor. The professor of Greek, Magister Hans Mönster, was removed from his post because he had married a woman of questionable reputation. He went to England, where for five years he served as teacher to Princess Elizabeth, later the great Protestant Queen⁽²⁾. Other changes of lesser importance were made in the teaching staff. The

(1) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 383, gives a list of the Rectors of the University of Copenhagen from 1537-1559.

(2) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 195.

main problem was to secure two renowned theologians to assist Dr. Macchabæus.

The King favoured foreign theologians. It is interesting that of the 40 Professors who secured positions at the University of Copenhagen under the rule of Christian III, 16 were foreigners, 3 were from Sleswig, 1 from Holstein, and the other remaining 20 were Danes. The King's attitude in this matter may very well be understood. He was by education and culture a German, and continued to use the German language during the twenty years of his reign. Almost all his counsellors were foreigners. His mistrust in Danes may be evidenced from a passage which he wrote in a letter to Bugenhagen in 1541, during the negotiations which finally resulted in Macchabæus's call to Denmark: "Ihr wisset, was wir vor Leute in diesen unsern Landen haben"! (1).

On March 31. 1548. therefore, the King wrote again to Bugenhagen and asked him to procure one or two learned and experienced German theologians to serve at the University and to advise him on religious matters (2). Both Bugenhagen and Melanchthon suggested a Magister Nicolaus, formerly a pastor in Regensburg, whom they recommended as a learned theologian, who might also serve well as a royal chaplain. But the King did not call

(1) Cf. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 292.

(2) Aarsberet. fra Gehejmearkivet, Vol. I, pp. 252-253.
Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, 188.

Nicolaus, probably because he was not of sufficient reputation. Macchabæus was alone to instruct in Theology, and it is obvious that the King next took counsel with him as to what to do. Dr. Georg Major of Wittenberg was invited to the vacant chair in the Danish University and we may infer that the King in this case had not sought advice of Bugenhagen and Melanchthon who would undoubtedly have advised him not to approach this celebrated theologian. Major begged to be excused.

b. Palladius assists The King had to try again, and
in the theol. Faculty someone must have been at work
again, from 1550.

behind the scenes, for the call was issued this time to none other than Dr. Martin Bucer of Strasburg. What a pleasure for Macchabæus personally and professionally, if Bucer had come, and what a gain for the cause of the Reformation in Denmark. But Bucer replied that he had promised his service to King Edward of England⁽¹⁾.

Christian III undertook then to negotiate with the famous theologian of Würtemberg, Dr. Johan Brenz, but the Patron of Brenz, the Duke of Würtemberg, would not let him go. One may imagine the consequences, if either Bucer or Brenz had come to Denmark, the former Calvinistically inclined, the latter a strong advocate of Lutheran orthodoxy. So far, however, no assistance had been

(1) Schumacher, a. Skr. Vol. II, p. 112. Mart. Bucerus, De regno Christi, ed. M. Bucer, fil. 1557, dedicated to King Chr. III. Note also Pontanus, Vita Chr. III., edit. Hübner, p. 84. Lackmann, Hist. ord. eccl. Dan., p. 889. Kong Chr. III's Hist. Preface, Vol. I, p. 112. Rørdam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 189.

secured for Macchabeus, who was over-burdened with work, wherefore Palladius, in 1550, was asked by the King to take up teaching again. .

While the King canvassed Germany for a theological Professor, a good Danish scholar, Magister Niels Hemmingsen, who was later to be the dominating figure in Danish Church and University life for almost a quarter of a Century, was making^{for} himself a reputation for learning. He was professor in subjects related to the study of Theology, namely, Greek, Dialectics and Hebrew. The King might have promoted him to the Chair of Theology, as he was held in high esteem both by students and professors, especially by Macchabeus, but his appointment was not made until 1553, when the King finally gave up his search for foreign theologians. We shall, in due time, notice the life of Niels Hemmingsen, the interesting circumstances of his promotion, and his theological position.

7. The Making of the Danish Bible, published in 1550. One of the primary objects of the Reformation in Denmark, that of translating the Scriptures into the Vernacular and making them available for the people, had, so far, not been attained in any complete degree. The Danish Bible, having engaged the attention of the theologians at the University for

a. Undue Credit given several years, was finally published by some Historians to Macchabæus's part. in 1550. The fact that among the

names on the title-page of this monumental literary production, appears that of Johannes Macchabæus, seems to have led some historians, writing in the English language, to conclude that Macchabæus deserves much, if not all, of the credit for this translation and publication of the Bible⁽¹⁾.

b. Earlier Parts of the Bible had been translated into Translations.

Danish long before⁽²⁾. The echoes of Luther's work for a Reformation in Germany reached Denmark almost immediately. Christian II, as we have already noted, sympathized in general with the Reformation, and during the latter years of his reign the first translation of the New Testament into Danish was being made and was published in 1524. The translator of this edition, Hans Nikkelsen, was not a famous scholar. He was the Burgomaster of the City of Malmö, an eager adherent of the Evangelical cause and a man of considerable means. When Christian II, opposed by Roman Catholic reactionaries,

(1) Lorimer, "On the Scottish Reformation", op.cit., pp. 119-120: "MacAlpin - one of the translators of the Bible into Danish tongue". - Dict. of Nat. Biography, op.cit., pp. 398-399: "Macchabæus was one of the four translators of Luther's German Version of the Bible into Danish". M'Crie, op.cit., Note I (to pp. 395-396), p. 19: "M. was acquainted with the German and the Danish languages and assisted in the translation of the Bible into Danish". Cowan, op.cit., pp. 114-115: "As an accomplished linguist he translated, in concert with three other scholars, the Bible into the Danish tongue".

(2) The review over earlier translations of the Bible, or parts thereof, into Danish is based upon E. Holbech, Christian, Bedrag til en Historie af Sprogskildring af de danske Bibleoversættelser fra det XVI Aarhundrede, særdeels Chr.III's Bible; Kobenhavn 1840, pp. 24-70.

had to flee from Denmark in 1523, Hans Mikkelsen left wife and children, house and property in Malmö and accompanied the King into exile. Mikkelsen's departure was obviously prompted by his Evangelical faith and, apparently, by his desire to finish his translation of the New Testament. Although attempts at translating the Bible into Danish had been made in the middle of the 15th Century, when the Old Testament was rendered in the Vernacular after the Vulgate, Hans Mikkelsen may rightly be considered the first translator of the Bible into Danish, for the people. The four Gospels were translated from Erasmus's revised Latin New Testament, the Epistles and the Revelation from Luther's German version.

The next translation of the Scriptures into Danish was made by the celebrated reformer, Christiern Pedersen. He was a linguistic scholar, destined by Christian II to promote learning and education in Denmark. He held a canonry at the Cathedral of Lund and was appointed the King's Historiographer. Various literary accomplishments are ^{ascribed to} ~~to be~~ him, especially along the line of Danish History. He, also, joined the King in exile in 1523, and, in the Netherlands, made acquaintance with Hans Mikkelsen's translation of the New Testament. He, the linguistic scholar, was moved by the desire to make the Bible available in ordinary Danish, such that not only the learned, but also the common people might be able to understand. Hans Mikkelsen's translation lacked a

great deal in that regard. Christiern Pedersen's desire was commendable, but his long absence from Denmark, during the first part of his life, in Paris, and later sharing the King's exile in the Netherlands from 1523 to 1529, and his lack of intimate contact with the Vernacular of the day, hindered him from contributing a translation which might later have been authorized by the reformed Church in Denmark. He published the New Testament in Danish in Antwerp in 1529, and again in 1531.

The Old Testament received attention also. The Book of Psalms was translated into Danish by the Dutchman, Frands Vormordsen, the Reformer from Malmö, one of the first teachers in the evangelical theological school in that city, later superintendent in the Church. This version of the Psalms appeared in 1528. Christiern Pedersen criticized this, as he had done Mikkelsen's version of the New Testament, and set out to make a better one! He was opposed to the strict and literal translation, and advocated a free, smoother rendering of the Scriptures on the basis of the original texts. His version of the Psalms appeared in 1529.

Hans Tavsén, the Reformer of Viborg and Copenhagen, was also found among the translators of the Bible. It seems to have been his intention to translate the whole Bible, at least the whole of the Old Testament and he did *succeed*

in translating the first five books of the Bible, which appeared in 1535. His work was a considerable improvement upon the 15th century translation. Another man, Peder Tideman, continued the task. The Book of Judges appeared in 1539, and the apocryphal books of Solomon's Wisdom and Jesus Sirach appeared in 1541. Tideman worked on the basis of Luther's text. ~~of the~~ text.

This finished the work of translating the Bible for the time. The great and epoch-making work of giving the whole Bible in the vernacular to the people still remained to be accomplished. The work of Hans Mikkelsen, Christiern Pedersen, Frands Vormorsen and Hans Tavsén, the pioneers, had been done during the stormy days of the struggle for the Reformation. It is a credit to all of those men, actively engaged in the controversial issues of the day, that they found time for such literary pursuits. All of them realized, however, that a thorough Reformation could be effected only on the basis of the Word of God. Fourteen years passed, after the establishment of the Reformation in Denmark, before a complete authorised version of the whole Bible appeared in Danish.

c. The Authorised
Version of the Bible
of 1550, "Christian
III's Bible."

The Royal order to produce a translation of the Scriptures into Danish must have been issued about 1540,

although no one knows the exact date or year. Luther's

German translation was to be followed "as closely as the Danish language permits".⁽¹⁾

(1) on the Basis of Luther's Version. That Christian III made that demand, may well be understood. Germanic as he was

himself in education and culture and outlook, Luther's Bible was read by him. His esteem and respect for Luther with whom he corresponded frequently may, also, have been among the reasons for the special emphasis in his demand. Add to this the fact that Luther's Version had obtained a wide, almost Canonical, reputation, not only among Lutherans, but also among the other adherents of Reform, and it was only natural that the Danish translation should be finished on the basis of Luther's. Except for the English, the translations of the Bible, most of those which appeared in the various lands of the Reformation till the 17th Century, were based on Luther's version: such were the Danish, Swedish, Hungarian, Esthonian, Finnish, Islandic, Lappish, Latvian, Lithuenian and Wendish versions⁽²⁾.

(2) Translated by Christiern Pedersen, revised by theol. Faculty. There is every reason to believe that the publication of the Swedish Bible in

1541 occasioned Christian III to further the cause of the Danish version and that Christiern Pedersen was called upon to accomplish this huge and

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(1) Hans Thomesen, Ord. de Rege Christiano III., Basil, 1560, Vol. VIII, p. 37. A translation of the order is found in Krag, Luther's Version. Chr. III's Hist. by Sandevig, Vol. I, p. 446. Cf. Molbech, op. cit., p. 73.
(2) Weidemann, Geschichte der Bibelubersetzung Luthers, 1843, p. 77. Molbech, op. cit., p. 72.

significant task⁽¹⁾. He must have finished his work by 1544, when he was taken ill with attacks of insanity and had practically to give up all literary pursuits⁽²⁾. The theological Professors at the University of Copenhagen were to supervise the work and to revise it where necessary. That they did thoroughly. The Revisers were Peder Palladius, Johannes Macchabeus, Niels Hemmingsen, the young professor in Dialectics, Greek and Hebrew, Magister Hans Henriksen, a Canon from Aarhus, and Peder Tideman, the industrious translator and minister, while Oluf Chrysostomus and Jens Sinningius also assisted in the work so long as they were connected with the University. The Professors seem to have divided the work amongst themselves, and Palladius may have supervised it. He reported in a letter to his assistants in the work of supervising the parishes in 1547, that he was hindered from visiting them as he had to look through the Danish Bible⁽³⁾. All the information that we possess to determine

(1) A man by the name of Petrus Parvus Rosæfontanus published in 1543 a translation of a small Biblical tract. He writes that this must be considered "a forerunner of the great Danish Bible which now the honest, reasonable, wise and learned man, Master Christiern Pedersen, has translated - with so great labour into well understood Danish language according to our most Gracious Lord Royal Majesty's Ordinance with the approval and authority of our University, to have it printed as soon as Almighty God gives Grace and ability, and to have it published for the happiness and wellbeing of all of us in body and soul." From "Tractat. Wdsæt aff Frandzsose paa Danske", by Petro Paruo. Kiøbenhafn 1543. Cf. Lis Jacobsen, Peder Palladius' Danske Skrifter, 5 Vols., København 1914, Vol. II, p. 47.

(2) Jacobsen, Lis, op. cit., p. 47.

(3) "Postquam...necessitas ipse postulat ut domi manere cogar, in revidendis Danicis Bibliis occupatus", from Palladii Levned by C.A. Heiberg, Theolog. Tidsskrift. IV, Part 2, 1840. Cf. Molbech, op. cit., p. 75, Note 97.

which men played a part in producing the 1550 version of the Bible is notes of financial receipts. Palladius was granted 300 Thaler, Macchabeus 100, Hemmingsen 100, Henriksen 80, and Tideman 80⁽¹⁾.

The King had some difficulty in financing the Bible, in spite of the wealth which only a few years before he had appropriated from the Church. He decreed that each Parish Church in the land should pay 2 Thaler to defray the expenses of procuring the paper for the Bible, and in 1548 he allocated some of the toll money, levied on the passage of vessels through the Sound at Elsinore, for the printing of the Scriptures. The "Bible-money" came in but slowly from the Churches. The King reminded them in 1546 that they must send in the money to the Cantor of Roskilde, as "the paper has been bought and has arrived at Elsinore". Dr. Morsing, Professor in Medicine, and Macchabeus supervised the distribution of the Bibles. We still possess notes of their accounts⁽²⁾. The fact that Christiern Pedersen had the main part in translating this version is furthermore attested by two instances of financial grants to "Magister Christiern Pedersen who first wrote out the Bible" and "who corrected and wrote out the Bible the first time".⁽¹⁾

(1) Molbech, op. cit., p. 75.

(2) Ibid., p. 74.

(3) Langebek, Cancellie Register, Langebekiana, by Nyrop, pp. 294-297. Cf. Ibid., p. 75.

(3) Macchabeus's
part in the work.

Macchabeus's direct part in this translation of the Bible must not be overestimated. There is no doubt that he, as the primary professor in the theological faculty, had the leading share in the administrative work, but his limited knowledge of Danish did not enable him to render a great service in translating into the Vernacular. His service was primarily that of having it published and distributed. The printer of the Bible was the well-known Ludvig Dietz, first of Rostock and later of Lübeck, who had printed the Lübeck folio Edition of the LowGerman Bible of 1534. Macchabeus may have read this version in Germany, as he spoke and wrote LowGerman. It seems probable that he knew Ludvig Dietz before his arrival in Denmark, as Dietz in an edition of the LowGerman New Testament, which he printed in Rostock in 1553, mentions Macchabeus as having specially favoured him⁽¹⁾.

The printing of the Bible began in 1548, and was finished by the middle of 1550. The Bible itself was prefaced by a Royal prohibition against copying it, and its excellence was attested by the fact that "learned men in Denmark" had thoroughly looked it through,

(1) Goetze, J. M., Hist. der niedersächs. Bibeln, p. 208, Molbech, op. cit., p. 77, Note.

"especially the highly learned in the University of Copenhagen". Three thousand copies were printed - hardly one copy for each parish in Denmark and Norway. The binding of the Bible was done by Povl Knoblock, called in from Lübeck. He was afterwards assisted by Antoine Maillet from France, a man of such standing that he was later appointed Secretary for the French Legation in Denmark⁽¹⁾. A copy of the Bible sold for 5 Thaler - one twentieth of a professor's yearly salary.

Morsing and Macchabeus continued the work of distributing the Bible till 1557, and the latter's special part in this may be judged from the fact that he received another 100 Thaler of the profits from the sale on the Bible for his labour, to be used for the education of his son, Christian⁽²⁾.

It is an interesting fact that King Christian III sent a copy of the Danish Bible of 1550 to the Russian Czar Ivan Wasiljewitsch II, asking him, when it had been translated into Russian, to employ the messenger, Hans Missenheim, or Bogbinder, to print it "in thousands of copies". A Russian translation was made, and a publication did take place, although in only a small degree⁽³⁾.

(1) Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 201, Note 1.

(2) Kirkehistoriske Samlinger, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 405-414, og Ny Kirkehistoriske Samlinger, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 124-126.

(3) The letter of King Chr. III to the Russian Czar is printed in Møller, J., Theologiske Bibliotek, Vol. X, pp. 329-331. See also Pontoppidan, Annales, Vol. III, p. 306., Hist. Tidsskr., Vol. III, pp. 625-626., and Nyt hist. Tidsskrift., Vol. V, pp. 336-339. Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 202-203.

The importance of the Bible-Version of 1550, "Christian III's Bible", can not be overestimated.

Macchabæus's name will ever be remembered because of the fact that it appears, among others, on the title-page of this historic edition of the Bible. The work of the Theologians at Copenhagen was to the honour of the University, in which Macchabæus in 1549/50 held the position of Rector Magnificus. But, what was more important, the Bible of 1550 may be considered the finishing stone in the structure of the new evangelical Church in Denmark.

8. Distinguished Scottish Macchabæus had the joy of seeing
Visitors in Copenhagen, some of his countrymen in Denmark
1548-1551.

during these years, and they must have brought home with them reports of the life and work of "that famous man, Dr. Macchabæus". We have mentioned the interesting fact, that John Gav served in the Cathedral Church of Copenhagen as chaplain, and, in a previous chapter, alluded to the correspondence which went on between Macchabæus and Alexander Alesius, the other great Scotsman on the Continent, at the University of Leipzig. But Scotsmen of distinction in the secular realm also visited Copenhagen at that time. They were Sir David Lindsay, George, Earl of Rothes, and Ambassador Harald.

a. Sir David Lindsay,
say, 1548-1549.

Sir David Lindsay arrived in Copenhagen during the latter part of 1548, sent by the Queen of Scotland and Vice-Regent James Hamilton of

Arran. Lindsay's errand at the Danish Court was to ask Christian III, "a friend and relative", to aid Scotland against England by sending some ships of war across the North Sea to protect the Scottish coasts from the invasions of the English. He asked furthermore that Scottish merchants be permitted free and safe trading on Denmark and Norway, particularly in grain⁽¹⁾.

Lindsay's primary embassy, that of securing aid in war against England, found no *response* at the Danish Court. The King replied, from his residence in Kolding, that Denmark was not so sure of peace that she, in order to aid others, dared send her ships so far away, as the strength of the realm at war lay in the forces at sea. Nor did Denmark wish to take part in a war against England, as that country in no way had caused Denmark

harm; in fact, a peace-pact had been concluded between the two kingdoms. Christian III did, however, promise, because of his relationship with the Scottish Queen, to exercise his influence for peace. The Scottish merchants and ships should be free to trade *with* Denmark and Norway, "only so that they would spare the King's subjects from onslaughts and marauding". The King begged the Scottish Ambassador's *pardon* for having recently punished some Scotsmen who had harmed influential people of the kingdom, and who were found with *stolen* goods in

(1) Chalmers, George, Works of Sir David Lindsay, Vol. I, pp. 36ff.

their vessels. He did, also, in no uncertain language charge Lindsay to see to it that no Danish subjects suffer any harm from Scotsmen on the North Sea or along the Scottish coasts. Then Scotsmen might freely trade ^{with} his lands(1).

While in Copenhagen, Sir David Lindsay made the acquaintance of Macchabæus and the other literati of reformed Denmark(2). In fact, he may have spent most of his time in company with Macchabæus. We have earlier noted both Lindsay's poetic satires and Macchabæus's economic support for publishing the same in Scotland. It is not to be wondered that the two Scotsmen found time to meet, nor that Lindsay, if he were to publish his "Dialogue, or Four Books of the Monarchie", was in need of financial support, as he met with very unfortunate circumstances on this trip! He was ready to leave Copenhagen in January 1549, but a hard frost had set in, which blocked the Sound with ice for a whole month. Then, when finally he managed to get his boat on the way, a terrific storm arose, and North of Elsinore he suffered shipwreck. He saved his life, but all his belongings were lost. He returned to Copenhagen and did not leave again until spring, at which time a Danish Ambassador,

(1) Christian III's Historie, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 331-332.

(2) Chalmers, op. cit., pp. 36ff.

whose duty it was to negotiate with the Scottish Crown concerning the Orkney Islands⁽¹⁾, accompanied him.

b. George, Earl of Rothes, 1550. It was this matter - the issue of the

Orkney Islands - that brought another distinguished Scotsman to Denmark in 1550, namely George, the Earl of Rothes. The Scottish Crown had not wanted to dispose of the islands again, although it was granted that the Danish King had only pawned, and not sold, them. The Scottish Parliament had excused itself in the matter by stating that it could not settle the case until the Queen~~-Elect~~ had come of age. To this Christian III had replied, that if his offer of paying the dowry of Margaretha, who had been married to King James^I III, and in the place of which the Orkney Islands had been pawned, was not now accepted and the islands returned to him, he would be forced to employ arms to secure his just claims. Then the Scottish Ambassador, the Earl of Rothes, arrived. He asked of the King yet three years before settling the troublesome matter. His request was granted, and the King even promised to intervene between Scotland^{and} the Emperor, which he did with the result that peace was agreed upon⁽²⁾. The embassy of the Scottish Earl seemed thus successful.

(1) Chr. III's Hist., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 322.

(2) Ibid., pp. 343-344.

c. Ambassador Harald, Macchabæus, however, saw yet another 1551.

Scotsman arrive to speak the same issue. His name, according to Danish sources, was Haråld. He had been sent to inform the King once more, that the Scottish Parliament was unable to take final action concerning the Orkney Islands until the Queen had returned from France. Ambassador Harald brought also with him complaints, that Scottish ships had suffered troubles from Danish ships on the coasts of England and Scotland, and that satisfaction had not been made for the same.

The King was not loth to make a reply: He had at his accession promised the Danish Council of State to pay the dowry of Princess Margaretha, 500.000 Rhinish Gylden, and see the pawn returned to the Danish Crown. Three years had been agreed upon to settle the matter, wherefore he advised no cunning on the part of the Scottish Crown, but urged it to keep its promises, otherwise a more thorough method of settling the issue would be necessary. So far as the Scottish ships were concerned, he had, out of his own treasury, paid their owners for the loss suffered at the hands of Danish sailors. While he, in return, felt a good reason to complain of the Scottish marauders who made the Sea so unsafe that no Danish merchant or captain any longer dared set sail for the Scottish coasts. As none of them had received any satis-

faction from Scotland, the Danish sailors, because of the inhuman treatment suffered at the hands of Scotsmen, apparently had decided to take revenge; "the Scotsmen may thank themselves, that they for some years have fared no better. If they cease ~~from~~ their robberies, we will command our subjects not to touch the goods of others"(1).

Macchabeus thus had the joy of sharing fellowship with leading men from his native land. From them he learned how the cause of the Reformation fared there. Obviously he took a vital interest therein, as he at the risk of his own life had been among the pioneers of it. The visits of the Scottish ambassadors were by no means equally pleasant for him. He was favoured by the Danish King, but repeatedly the King was angered by Macchabeus's countrymen on the issue of the Orkney Islands. Macchabeus, however, continued until his death to be held in high esteem by his Sovereign.

9. Macchabeus collated to Canonry, 1550.

That Macchabeus's service and influence was increasingly esteemed may also be noted from the fact that he, on February 16, 1550, was collated for life to a canonry in Roskilde, which had been resigned by a Frands Brockenhus (2). This additional source of income improved his means of livelihood considerably.

(1) Ibid., pp. 359-360.

(2) Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 590-591. Cf. Reg. o. Lande, Nr. 5, Fol. 204.

CHAPTER VI.

THE STORY OF THE EVENTFUL YEARS OF DR. MACCHABÆUS'S SERVICE IN DENMARK. Second Part: 1551-1554.

A. The Situation in the Church and University.

1. Papistical re-
mains in the Church
and among the People.

The Reformation had been introduced by Royal decree in Denmark, but the task of bringing it into the minds and hearts of the people was a more difficult one. A glimpse into the life of the people a decade and a half later proves the strenuousness of the task. Niels Palladius, a brother of Peder, had been appointed Superintendent of Skaane, just across the Sound from Copenhagen. He complained that the Churches were full of pictures of Saints, and that papistical customs and superstitions were general among the People. Peder Palladius agitated against the many minor altars in the Churches, "even though the Papists wish to keep them and to have them remain to await the news, that their rubbish and the robbers themselves may have a chance again which they, however, shall never see. God in Heaven free us from other errors of the Pope and the Monks, in which we have been steeped sufficiently".(1).

2. The King orders a
Visitation by the
Superintendents.

The King must have learned about the need of a more thorough examination into the religious life and practices of the People, as he

(1) Kirkehistoriske Saml. Vol. II, pp. 565. Cf. Helweg, op. cit., p. 107.

in 1551 decreed that the Superintendents should make a general visitation in their dioceses. He had learned "that many had hardened themselves and were not found in such a right Christian faith as they ought", wherefore the Superintendents were commanded to "travel about and ascertain the truth". He asked, furthermore, that all "prelates, abbots, priors, canons, vicars, priests and regular clergy" should be willing to be taught and to obey the Superintendents in all that the King commanded⁽¹⁾.

3. The religious life of the day. Sacramentalism and Exorcism.

The religious life, among high and low, was as yet characterized by monastic

discipline. The Chapters of the Cathedrals had been permitted to remain, as had several of the larger monastic institutions, and Worship was held daily, supposedly along Evangelical lines. Complaints were numerous, however, especially concerning the Nunneries, that they, as in Maribo, retained the pictures of the Saints in their Churches, that they worshipped the Saints, that they observed their Canonical rules and the special Days of the Roman Catholic Church, that they in general continued their former mode of worship and monastic life, and failed to observe such commands as had been issued by royal

(1) Heiberg, op. cit., p. 186; Theol. Tidsskrift, Vol. IV, p. 2. Cf. Helweg, op. cit., p. 107.

decree for the Evangelical Church⁽¹⁾.

Added to this was the overwhelming fact that an Evangelical ministry had not yet been trained to teach and impart the Protestant point of view, and it is not to be wondered, if the situation in the Parishes, which were served by a baffled, ignorant and evangelically helpless ministry, was as yet far from satisfactory.

The Lutheran Reformers worked hard to change all this. One wonders how they could possibly retain so much Roman Catholic dogma, especially in regard to Sacramentalism, as they did, and at the same time term that "the clear and bright Day of the Gospel". We shall mention but a single instance. If one considers alone the implications of the practice of Exorcism at Infant Baptism, it is not surprising that the People remained steeped in the darkness of the old Church instead of following the light of the New, which some few had seen. But the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Denmark retained baptismal Exorcism as a command in the Church Ordinance, and punished clerical disobedience of this enactment. The Ordinance decreed that the Exorcism was to be performed as follows: The priest should receive the Infant to be baptized with the words: "Be Thou

(1) Helweg, op. cit., p. 171.

gone, Thou unclean Spirit, and give room for the Holy Ghost!", and in the course of his talk should pronounce the following words: "I adjure Thee, Thou unclean Spirit, that Thou leavest this Servant of Jesus Christ!". Palladius defended Exorcism in a tract in 1551⁽¹⁾. Both that and the Elevation of the Host in the Communion, the practice of which it was decided gradually to abolish, were mere continuations of the old customs, and it is no wonder that adherents of the Phillip^{ist} School of Theology later attacked these practices themselves and the dogmatic views implied therein⁽²⁾.

4. The Work of the University at this time. Complaints and Improvements. The work of the University went on quite satisfactorily. The Professors may have

had to attend to too many odd jobs, as the King complains of their neglect in lecturing, and the Rector Magnificus, Niels Hemmingsen, who succeeded Macchabæus in that office, in November 1550 found reason seriously to exhort the Professors to observe the Foundation and Ordinance, to give Repetitions on Wednesdays and to examine the Students in the lectures of the past week, stating that the Professors were not only to be interested in securing their salaries, but also in labouring for the benefit of the Students. Hammingen's admonition seems

(1) Ibid., pp. 177-188.

(2) Ibid., pp. 178-182.

to have had little effect, because it was ordered, in the following year, that Professors who neglected their duties were to pay a fine⁽¹⁾. Students were also fined, when they had been guilty of misdemeanors, and when fines proved ineffective other measures were adopted. We find, for example, that a group of students had engaged in a drinking bout in a night party in a house of ill fame. The Professors decided to expel three of them from the University, while two, who had not been punished before, were permitted to remain on condition that one of them learned by heart the Epistle to the Romans and Virgil's Aeneid, and the other likewise the Gospel of Matthew and paying 4 Thaler. When one considers the penalties imposed on the students one is inclined to feel that there must have been some regard of persons, as a Professor was fined only 2 to 4 Shillings for neglect of duties⁽²⁾.

The University pursued its work regularly. The King aimed at securing professors of ourstanding merit in their fields of work. In 1553 a library was built, and books from the former monasteries were sought out to serve the needs of the University; others were procured elsewhere⁽³⁾. Only pestilences broke the

(1) Ny Kirkehist. Saml. Vol. I, p. 8. Rörðam, Vol. I, pp. 204-205.

(2) Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. IV, Tillæg Nr. 16., and Ibid., Vol. I, p. 205.

(3) Ibid., Vol. I, pp 225.

continuity of the academical work. We noted earlier that a pestilence ravaged the city of Copenhagen in 1548, and another broke out six years later. The University had to close its doors from August 1553 to February 1554, and two professors died from the epidemic⁽¹⁾. The Professors generally left the city under such circumstances, but we possess no information regarding Macchabæus during any of the periods of pestilence.

B. Controversies engaging the Attention of the Copenhagen-Theologians.

1. The Danish Church
reputed for peace and
unanimity of views.

So far in the course of the Danish Re-
formation, the Theologians and Church-

men had been occupied with the pressing demands of practical affairs. The new regime and organisation had to be established; united in their struggle against a common enemy, the Reformers found no time for internal dispute, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Denmark was noted for its tranquillity and uniformity of doctrine.

The larger, basically dogmatic, issues, which had created the main divisions among the Protestants on the Continent, could not, however, be ignored in Denmark. They began to appear a decade and a half after the establishing of the Evangelical Church. There is no doubt

(1)Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 223-224.

that the Theologians in Copenhagen and the Danish King regretted the situation in Germany, where theological strife lessened the strength of the cause of Protestantism. And it is not to be wondered that several of the German Reformers, who saw the pains and persecutions which the "Interim" caused, and the theological struggles which followed, looked admiringly upon the situation in Denmark. In 1551, Johannes Aurifaber, the publisher of Luther's writings, wrote to the Danish King to ask if he might secure a position either in the Church or in the University, if he should be exiled for the sake of his faith. Doctor George Major described also to the Danish King, in 1552, the disagreements among the Protestants in Germany regarding matters of Faith, and concluded: "The Lord has, by His Grace, blessed Your Majesty, so that under Your care (literally: wings) we note and find lovely agreement in regard to the teaching both in the Churches and School, and due obedience, peace and tranquillity in the secular sphere, while we, on the other hand, with great pain and regret must experience the contrary". (1)

But the celebrated peace in the Danish Church was not to be preserved very long. Although we find on

(1) Schumacher, Gel. Män. Br., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 237; Vol. II, p. 177. Cf. Rörödm, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 209.

the part of the Theologians, a general unwillingness to enter into unnecessary strife, questions of fundamental dogmatic significance arose among the Churchmen themselves. The latter half of Macchabeus's life in Denmark saw controversies arise, in which the Scotsman had to play a part, and even some in which he played the leading part. We shall, in short, refer to the main issues, as they concern a study of the life of Macchabeus.

2. The Osiandrian Controversy. The first main problem with which the

Theologians in Copenhagen had to deal in this period was the Osiandrian Controversy. It arose in Germany when the strife regarding the "Interim" began to diminish. Andreas Osiander was pastor and professor at Königsberg. The view which he advocated related to the doctrine of Justification by Faith. Osiander agreed

a. The Issue with the Lutheran view declaring the Roman at stake.

Catholic doctrine of Justification by Works erroneous, holding firmly to Justification by Faith alone. But he was also deeply concerned about the ethical implications of Christianity. He declared that Justification meant "to make just"; only by metonymy could it mean "to declare just"; that God does not pronounce man to be what he is not, - just and holy, - but that he makes him so. Justification is not a juridical, but a therapeutic, act, a constant inflowing of Christ, the

God-Man. Osiander held that our spiritual union with Christ is the principle of righteousness; that the true Christian believer will be so embodied in Christ, that he sustains life-communion with Him. Christ's death is only the negative condition of Justification, His incarnation is the positive. Justification is then "the formation of Christ in the believer, the reproduction of the incarnation", not derived from the human nature of Christ, but from the divine. It is not the imputation, but "the impression of the essential righteousness, or divine nature of, Christ. The indwelling of Christ's divine nature is our righteousness before God"(1).

A bitter controversy arose in Germany over the Osiandrian view. It spread from the University circles to all classes of the People. So fiercely did it rage, that Osiander's son-in-law, Funk, Confessor to the Duke of Prussia and main advocate of the Osiandrian views, was beheaded in 1566. The view was finally condemned by the Formula of Concord in 1580(2).

b. The King demands of Palladius and Macchabeus a refutation of Osiander.

The Duke of Prussia was favorably disposed towards Osiander and his views. He wrote, in November 1551,

to the German Princes of the Augsburg Confession, and to the Danish King, and asked that their theologians pass

(1) The Lutheran Encyclopedia. by H.F. Jacobs and J. H. W. Haas, Charles Scribners and Sons, New York 1899, pp. 360-361.
(2) Ibid., p. 361

judgement on the issue. Likewise, Melancthon asked King Christian III to have the University of Copenhagen declare itself upon the subject. The King, therefore, sent a work of Osiander, containing the contested views, accompanied by the request of the Duke of Prussia, to Palladius and Macchabæus, and asked them to give their opinion upon it.

c. Replies of Palladius and Macchabæus. Macchabæus's correspondence.

The two theologians replied three months later. Palladius wrote to the King in Danish, Macchabæus in Lower-

Saxon. Palladius informed the King, on January 28, 1552, that Macchabæus's ill health had prevented both of them from taking up the work regarding the Osiandrian controversy, that "they hope and pray most humbly, that Your Royal Majesty will excuse us for the sake of God, and it has not happened because of neglect or disobedience on our part, that God Almighty knows". Palladius informed the King that he and Macchabæus agreed to divide the task between them, - that Macchabæus would take Dr. Osiander's erroneous articles separately and write against them, while Palladius would "run through the book and prove that it was built upon a loose foundation". It is of interest to us to note, that the more thorough part of the work was placed in the hands of Macchabæus. Palladius, although a sick man and occupied with the strenuous duties of the Superintendency,

managed to get the work done and enclosed his consideration of the Osiandrian writing. This went against Osiander, as Palladius theologically represented strict Lutheran orthodoxy.⁽¹⁾

On February 4, 1552, Macchabeus, also, wrote to the King. The language which he employed is exceedingly strange, neither German, nor Danish, but the Lower-Saxon dialect, which he ^{had} undoubtedly learned on his Continental sojourns. We cite the letter in full, as rendered in modern English:

Most Highborn, most Mighty Prince and Lord,
All gracious King:

Your Royal Majesty's letter both to the Reverend Superintendent of Zealand and myself, sent in November, I have read with due obedience and reverence, examined and well understood. And I have conformed to Y.R.M.'s command according to my ability and so long as health permitted and began the task with the Superintendent. But time has passed since the work was commenced and, through having been very weak and ill, I have been hindered therein and unable to finish it. I have had such severe pains in my head and have fallen in ^{to} such great weakness all over (des gantzen Lyves), that I have not been able to conform seriously to Y. R. M.'s command. Whenever I have written for an hour on the separate points which need thorough thought, soon weakness and illness have overtaken and hindered me. My sickness (although I employ the medical doctor sufficiently) may still last some time.

I have formed my opinion about the cause from the booklet sent to me, and I am sorry that I have been detained. On condition

(1) Letter to be found in Schumacher, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 131-133.

that I yet have some time (God granting me grace and health) I shall make known my remarks and conform to the command of Y.R.M. with all possible ability. To be given some more time, is my humble prayer through Christ.

May Y.R.M. acknowledge in grace these true and necessary excuses and show the usual grace. May Christ Jesus, the only Redeemer of human kind (des menschlichen Geschlechtes) keep Y.R.M. and the most High Queen, my Gracious Lady, the Royal Family and the whole Court, the affairs of the Christian Church, the Regime, the Kingdom and the Country in Y.R.M.' Government of God, many years (so happily begun) to reign, and safe from all difficulties.

Dated Copenhagen the fourth of January (1552).

Your Royal Majesty's
obedient and most willing Servant,
Johannes Machabæus.

The most Hig^hborn, most Mighty Prince and Lord,
Christian, King of Denmark, Norway, the Vends
and Goths, Duke of Sleswig, Holstein, Stor-
maren and Ditmarsken, Count of Oldenburg
and Delmenhurst(1).

d.Macchabæus The King waited until May 1552, when he finally fails to deliver any Refutation! decided to forward Palladius's Consider-

ation against Osiander to the Duke of Prussia. He remarks in the correspondence, that Macchabæus's contribution had not yet been received; and, so far as we know, Macchabæus never took pains to write against Osiander. His illness may have been the temporary and immediate cause for this, while his dislike for entering into theological disputes with true Evangelicals and his acknowledgement of the sincerity of Osiander and of the

(1) Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 133-135.

practical need for the theological emphasis of the Osiandrian point of view may have been the real reason. Luther was in his time, likewise, well acquainted with Osiander's teachings and exhibited a similar unwillingness to enter into controversy with him. Whatever flaws Lutheran Orthodoxy found in Osiander's dogmatic views, the points which he stressed, - that the believer in Christ should be made just and holy, that Christ should live in him, - were by no means a needless message. Any true Reformer knew that the power of his message lay not so much in a spotless creed as in the piety which it produced in the life of the people.

3. The Adiaphoristical Controversy
appears in Denmark.

The next controversy with which the
Copenhagen Theologians had to deal

revealed fully the point which required emphasis, namely that the doctrine of Justification by Faith alone (teaching that it is God only who can make just) is no cover, or excuse, for an unholy life, nor can it, on the other hand, countenance such usages in the Church as are not in accordance with the Word of God. It is in this controversy that we discover positively what we earlier suspected, that Macchabeus, true to his evangelical fervour, his Christian character, his native insistence upon reform, respected and stressed piety above doctrinal conformity.

a. The Case of the
Odense Priests.

The controversy which demanded the attention of the theologians was an echo of the Adiaphoristical strife, or the "Interim", on the Continent, whether ceremonial usages, which were not in opposition to the teachings of the Word or the Creed, could not, in times of strife be adapted so as to accomodate people of different convictions regarding ceremonial usage (adiaphora).

Two clergymen in Odense, Laurits Heliesen, pastor of the Church of St. Hans, and Christopher Michelsen, Magister in the Cathedral School of the Church of St. Knud, who, on the Continent, had made the acquaintance of more thorough reformations than that in Denmark, preached openly against the questionable usages which they found in the Church. The Superintendent, Magister Jörgen Sadolin, the earlier co-reformer with Hans Tavsén in Viborg, asked them to refrain from such preaching, but in vain. They, in turn, attacked Superintendent Sadolin, accused him of sympathy with Papistry, and Mr. Heliesen preached publicly against him. It was likewise in vain that the Superintendent solicited the aid of the local ecclesiastical and secular authorities against the two courageous preachers, who found a number of adherents in Odense.

They were then indicted to appear before the Theologians of the University of Copenhagen, and on Feb-

ruary 9, 1552 this took place. The Superintendent accused the preachers of "having severed themselves from the Christian Church according to some erroneous opinion, which they held to have the sanction of by Scripture, and of having disregarded the true Religion and having revealed in their teachings such opinions as may give young people cause for much evil". They were undoubtedly Anabaptistically inclined. On the next day, the Preachers accused the Superintendent of a scandalous life and erroneous teachings. He, however, was judged guiltless, while "as Mr. Christopher and Mr. Laurits had, prompted by the folly of youth and the fame of wisdom, opposed themselves against their right superior and caused offence in the Christian Church", it was judged that they should acknowledge their wrong conduct and beg the Superintendent's forgiveness. Palladius and Macchabeus desired to avoid anything which might reveal dissension in the new Church, and they sought to settle the matter privately. But Michelsen exhibited the fearlessness of a reformer and claimed that it would have been better for the King to have dissolved all monasteries rather than to support the remnants of the Monastic practices. On February 18, the Professors notified the King about the case and asked him to judge in the matter. They advised him not to banish the Preachers from the

country, as they might spread accusations abroad against the King and the orthodoxy of the Danish Church, and not to sanction the public disputation, which the Preachers had requested in the matter, and which the Professors probably feared might widen the issues. They recommended the King to be lenient in his treatment of them because of their youth.

It was a difficult situation for the King and the Professors. They desired in no wise to be regarded as protecting the remnants of papistry while at the same time the Emperor attempted to suppress Protestants in Germany, nor did they wish to acknowledge any breach in the inner peace and tranquillity of the Danish Church. The King asked the Professors to silence the preachers, or to transfer them to other posts, but this was also in vain. On July 22, 1552, the Professors commanded the preachers to ask forgiveness, upon pain of imprisonment. Mr. Christopher Michelsen was confined in the dungeon of the Monastery of Sorø, where he died three years later, on April 13, 1556. Mr. Laurits Hellesen was imprisoned in Herredsvad in Skaane. But the issue must have been considered exceedingly important, as he, in the spring of 1553, was brought to the Castle of Copenhagen, where the King, several Noblemen and Preachers and all the Professors of the University were gathered. Christian III attempted, in

the presence of this august group, to change the attitude of Mr. Heliesen, but still in vain. It was decided, therefore, to place him under the sole jurisdiction of the Church, and he was deprived of his ecclesiastical position and permitted to live anywhere in the country, except on Fynen. A promise was made him, that if he would acknowledge his error all of them would "on their knees" beg His Majesty to restore him to his position, respect and honour.

The high dignitaries in State and Church were spared bending their knees. Heliesen was apparently of the same staunch spirit which characterized the early Reformers themselves. Later historic records inform us that he had publicly baptized his adult son outside the King's Castle by the St. Anna Bridge in Odense. Whether that is so, can not be stated for certain. Next year, however, he was transported to Visborg Castle on the Island of Gulland in the Bay of Finland, where he eventually died after the long sufferings of imprisonment⁽¹⁾.

b. Macchabæus's Themata, of 1552, that were left undisputed.

It is obvious that this difficult case implied far more than a matter of discipline and dissent on the part of two ordinary clergymen in Odense. It represented no less than the whole Adiaphoristical issue. The University

(1) The whole case is treated by Rördam, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 211-214. And in Harboes Preface to Zwergius' Sjøell. Cleresi. Also in Helweg, op. cit., pp. 107-111.

of Copenhagen as a whole decided against the two preachers, but there is no doubt that Macchabæus and his disciple, colleague and successor, Niels Hemmingsen, differed from the general attitude in this matter, and that the elaborate and patient procedure with the dissenting preachers was due to the influence of those two leading theological professors. This supposition is proved quite strikingly by the fact that, in 1552, Macchabæus published some academical theses regarding "traditions, ceremonies and human customs in the Church", which Hemmingsen was to defend for a theological degree. The theses contained severe attacks on Papistry in general and on strange customs and ceremonies in particular, while they, also, condemned severely anyone who should defend their usage or lend a hand to their restoration, when they had been abolished. That the Theses were aimed at churchmen, like Superintendent Sadolin, is without a doubt. Although Macchabæus could not follow the more radical Odense-Preachers, he was opposed to the large amount of ceremonial usages which, in spite of the fact that they were unscriptu^{al}, had been carried over from the Old Church and were even defended by leading Evangelicals.⁽¹⁾

There can be no doubt that the theses were prompted by this temporary issue, which engaged the

(1) Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 216, cites some of the theses in Latin.

attention of church-leaders both in Denmark and on the Continent. They were thus, in a way, a defence for the two preachers from Odense. But it is an interesting and suggestive fact that the theses, which Macchabæus had published, were never disputed! It was not until a year later, in March 1553, that Hemmingsen's promotion took place, and then another set of theses were published by Macchabæus who thereby opened the struggle between the Phillip School and that of Lutheran Orthodoxy on the issue of the Communion. We possess no records to explain the postponement of Hemmingsen's promotion, or why Macchabæus's theses were not disputed, but it seems safe to conjecture that the King, by the advice of his Chaplains and Palladius, feared that a public disputation would occasion the spread of the whole troublesome issue, and that it might exhibit abroad a point of view in the Adiaphoristical strife which was judged undesirable for the Danish Church⁽¹⁾. But from this time onwards among the theologians in Copenhagen there existed a tension which found Macchabæus and Hemmingsen openly representing the Phillip School of Theology in Denmark.

c. The King decrees further action against Papistry, 1553. The King and the Superintendents, however, took note of the situation, and a new attack upon Papistical remains ensued. On August 5, 1553, Palladius received a Royal command thoroughly to examine the teachings and the ~~lives~~ of the

(1) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 217.

Ecclesiastics in Roskilde, where "a great impropriety" had been discovered, and in January 1554, Palladius very earnestly counselled the Prelates and Canons in Denmark and Norway to forsake the old ways and "turn to the Lord". There was, indeed, sufficient cause for the Preachers from Fynen, and for Macchabeus and Hemmingsen, to champion a yet more thorough Reformation in Denmark.

d. Also severe
decrees against
Anabaptists and
Sacramentarians.

But the sword, which the King and the
Superintendents of the Evangelical Lutheran

Church decided to wield, had two edges,
one against Roman Catholicism, the other against Pro-
testants of other than Lutheran persuasions. Thus, in
1553, as again in 1555, a Royal decree was published in
every city and town in Denmark punishing in "honour,
property, limbs and life", all Sacramentarians, who were
found within the Kingdom, and those who employed and
housed them". This was, in fact, the threat of capital
punishment for dissent from the Lutheran Church. The
new Church had taken over the methods of the Old⁽¹⁾.

C. Macchabeus discloses Calvinistic Views and inaugurates
the Communion-Issue, in 1553.

1. Macchabeus carrying on
the main part of theo-
logical instruction at
this time.

Macchabeus had, in reality, been the
only theological professor since
1548. Palladius was largely taken

(1) See the decree, of 1553, in Chr. III's Hist., Vol. II.,
pp. 221-222, and, of 1555, in Ibid., pp. 240-242.

up with the duties of the Superintendency and was besides a sick man. Macchabæus's health seems, also, to have been somewhat impaired. But the King waited until 1553 before he appointed a theological professor to fill the position vacated by Chrysostomus in 1548. Macchabæus had carried on the main part of the theological instruction during three years. The King, as we have seen, preferred renowned foreign theologians in the Chairs of the University of Copenhagen, wherefore he postponed promotion of native men. The Adiaphoristical Controversy in Germany, however, gave him less confidence in the foreigners. Bugenhagen had urged him, in January 1553, to employ only such men as had been educated at Wittenberg - "allein von unsern gelehrten Männern" - in order to prevent Sectarianism from entering the country⁽¹⁾. But the Danish King and his advisers were well awake to the fact that even Wittenberg presented divergent views from Lutheran Orthodoxy. The Osiandrian and Adiaphoristical Controversies divided the camp of the Wittenberg Theologians, and there was even reason to doubt their orthodoxy in dogmatic questions, as Dr. George Major had been known to advocate the necessity of good works for Salvation. The King decided, therefore, to make use

(1) Schumacher, ~~apxxxix~~ Gel. Man., op. cit., Vol. I., p. (191).

of the young professor in Dialectics, who later secured international reputation as a theologian, Niels Hemmingsen, whose promotion took place on March 7th, 1553, Macchabeus presiding.

2. The Occasion for the Issue: Hemmingsen's promotion. Its significance.

So far the Danish Church had managed to retain its reputation for peace and unity among its leaders⁽¹⁾. The promotion of

Niels Hemmingsen, however, opened the Communion Controversy which, on the Continent, divided the Protestants in the two great camps of Lutherans and Calvinists, or, within the Lutheran group itself, the Phillip^{ist} School of Theology and the strict orthodox Lutheran School. Macchabeus was the cause of the opening of the controversy in Denmark, as from this time till his death, four years later, he championed the Phillip view against Palladius's strict Orthodoxy. We are so fortunate as to possess the twenty-four theses which Macchabeus published, to be disputed by Hemmingsen before his promotion to Bachelor of Theology. The theses bear evidence of a thorough theologian, and we have translated all of them and present them in full elsewhere⁽²⁾ in this treatise, in order to give an example of the type of theses disputed at academic promotions at the University of Copenhagen during the Reformation, also as an evidence of Macchabeus's theological scholarship and position regarding the Communion.

(1) Rördam, Vol. I, p. 220, Note 2.

(2) pp. 265-267.

3. Macchabæus's
Themata concern-
ing the Communion
March 7, 1553.

Macchabæus asserts, in the first five theses, the divine gratuitousness of the remission of sins; the necessity of a propitiatory, acceptable sacrifice of a mediator on behalf of sinful humanity; that the requirement for assurance of forgiveness of sins and salvation is repentance and earnest faith; and that heavenly "testimonies and signs" have been added concerning this "Gospel of Grace". In the next seven theses he deals with one of these "signs and symbols, the sacred feast of Christ, in which, when the elements have been employed with due reverence, the reality, (according) to the words of institution of our Lord, of his body and most holy blood is assuredly present, and is believed to be shared in reality by those partaking of it". Here Macchabæus refutes the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, "whether it means a physical change of our Lord's Body, or receiving it in and with the elements, or any such as the Papists devise". But he attacks also the Lutheran "in-and-with" point of view, although it is placed under the group "such as the Papists devise"! He continues his charge against the Roman Catholic doctrines and holds that it is not by the excellence of Ordination, Anointing, or any formulae, but solely by the will and command of Christ, that the Sacred Meal is made efficacious.

The following eight theses (14 - 21) deal with the need which the Communion serves, its "true, divine and saving realities are certainly not displayed through the element itself, but are for the nurture and feeding of the spirits of believers", and therefore spiritual. It is for adults, he holds, and for all believers. "Moreover", he says in the 19th thesis, "the legitimate (sole, or right) use of the Lord's Supper, the chief act of observance in our Religion, is a commemoration of the death of our Lord". This is a significant and suggestive emphasis. He then asserts, that the Sacrament is not present in the institution, when it is diverted into another use than its purpose. "The reality must not be believed to be present in them because of their sacramental character, nor because of the realities, which are represented".

The last three theses are such summary statements, that we quote them in full:

Thesis 22. "Finally, this sacrament, although it is a pledge and seal of divine promise, which God bestows on believers, allows in no way any means of expiatory sacrifice".

Thesis 23. "Thus it is clearly established, that neither the attainment of eternal life, nor satisfaction on behalf of our own sins or those of others, nor judgement on the living or the dead, is communicable by virtue of the mere taking of the sacrament (ex^v operis operati) through the offices of the priest."

Thesis 24. "Nevertheless, in the right use of the Lord's Supper, we ought to add prayers of thanksgiving and acts of praise and gratitude

for the gifts bestowed and remembered in the feast, whence the whole celebration has obtained the name of Eucharist (Thanksgiving)". (1)

Macchabæus's theses were, in the main, framed against Transubstantiation and other Roman Catholic usages in connection with the Mass. But his positive assertions bear evidence of Calvinism. He refutes Transubstantiation, does not believe in Consubstantiation (Thesis Nr. 9), speaks of the spiritual, true and saving realities in the institution, of "testimonies, signs and symbols", and holds that its "chief and right", in fact its only legitimate, use (Thesis Nr. 19) is as a Commemoration of the Death of our Lord.

4. Macchabæus, the Inaugurator of the Phillip School of Theology in Denmark.

From Hemmingsen's promotion to the doctorate of Theology four years

later, when Macchabæus again presided, we gather that Palladius had found reason to oppose Macchabæus's views on the Communion as asserted in 1553⁽²⁾. Whether Palladius offered his criticism at the time of the disputation itself, or later, we do not know. The promotion proceeded in the usual manner, Macchabæus

(1) Themata de Sacra Coena, de quibus cras publice disputabitur præsidente Joh. Macchabæo, Ao. 1553, printed from the original in Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 57-60. A parenthesis is added to the title of the Original in which it is mentioned, that it was the same subject, that Macchabæus treated, because of the controversy which Palladius had commenced on its account, when Dr. Nicolaus Hemmingsen, on Sept. 27., 1557, was promoted to the doctorate of theology. Translated and printed in full in appendix Nr.V., pp. 365-367.

(2) See previous footnote.

finished the ceremonial act with a splendid oration on the text from Romans 14,23: "Whatsoever is not of Faith is Sin". We have translated this oration and the prayer which preceded it, both of which may be found as Appendixes in this treatise.⁽¹⁾ We shall later comment on both of them.

Danish Historians generally claim that Niels Hemmingsen was the Founder of the Phillip School of Theology in Denmark. It is true that he represented it, also that he championed it and, finally, though the greatest theologian in Denmark during the Century of the Reformation, had to suffer deprivation of his position as chief Professor of Theology at the University of Copenhagen at the hands of rigid Lutheran orthodoxy, because of his Melanchthonian views. But it was not he, who was the originator or founder of this theological school, or point of view, in Denmark. That honour, - or dishonour as his persecutors considered it - is, to be historically correct, due to Johannes Macchabeus. If Danish Historians do not wish solely to employ the term, the Melanchthon, or Phillip, School of Theology, for Crypto-Calvinism, which reigned at the University of Copenhagen till the beginning of the second decade of the 18th Century, then, rather than call it the Hemmingsen School, or Period, it ought to be named the Macchabeus School of Theology.

(1) The Oration, Appendix Nr. VI, pp. 368-375;
The Prayer, Appendix Nr. VII, p. 376.

D. The John a Lasco Affair, of 1553/54, and Macchabæus's Attitude.

Had the Theologians at Copenhagen in the controversies, so far, had to deal theoretically with the issues, except that which concerned the fate of the two Odense-Priests, an occasion which arose eight months later, inevitably caused them practically to choose their camps on the Communion question, which presently was in the forefront among them. This was the arrival of Johannes a Lasco and his Reformed party. in November 1553.

1. John a Lasco and Johannes a Lasco, the Polish Reformer, was his Reformed party, and their arrival in one of the strong personalities in Denmark.

in the movement of the Reformation. He was born in 1499, in Poland, of a noble family, which had originally migrated from England. His uncle was Archbishop of Gnesen, who secured him a thorough Humanistic education in Cracau and Bologna. In 1518 he arrived back in Poland where high ecclesiastical positions awaited him. But in 1523 he went to Paris, and in 1524 to Basel, where he became an admiring disciple of Erasmus. Fearing his conversion to the Evangelical movement, the leaders of the [Roman Catholic] Church in Poland recalled him in 1526, and he had by oath to declare himself free from heretical views, even before his uncle, the Archbishop.

Johannes a Lasco advanced rapidly in the Church. But in 1536 he left the country, his high positions and rich stipends in the Church, and went to the Netherlands. where he joined the Reformation. In 1542, he became pastor of the Reformed Church in Emden, which flourished under his aggressive and excellent leadership. And, in spite of opposition from Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Anabaptists, he created here a "Nordic Geneva", the spiritually powerful impulses of which long were felt along the Rhine. His Catholicism may be considered preparatory for the Heidelberg Catholicism.

As he would not subject himself to the "Interim". he left Emden in 1548, although he retained the Office of Superintendent. He went as a refugee into England, where Archbishop Cranmer received him kindly and appointed him leader of the foreign Protestant refugees in London. Here he enjoyed the peace secured to the Protestants under King Edward, to whom he dedicated a tract about the Sacraments.⁽²⁾ But when Mary Tudor succeeded and determined to establish the Roman Catholic Church again and began to persecute the Protestants, Johannes a Lasco and a Reformed party of 170 persons decided to flee for the sake of their lives. They hoped to find a place of refuge in Denmark, and landed at Elsinore in October 1553.⁽¹⁾

(1) Kirke-Leksikon for Norden, op. cit., Vol. III (publ. 1911) p. 25.

(2) His "Forma ac ratio tota ecclesiastica ministerii", from this period, is also one of the sources of the First Book of Discipline. of 1560. of the Scottish Church.

What attitude should the Danish King take towards these Reformed, or Calvinistic, refugees? Had they been Anabaptists, there could be no question at all what was to be done with them; neither could there be any doubt as to their treatment, if they had been adherents of Zwingli, as Luther in 1545, shortly before his death, in no uncertain way declared his views regarding "the enemies of the Sacraments in Zurich, or wherever they were"⁽¹⁾. But Luther had refrained from mentioning Calvin's name, and had not expressly classified him among the Sacramentarians. A door of regard for Calvinism had been left open, kept so by Phillip Melancthon. But the situation regarding the relationship between Lutherans and Calvinists had changed considerably since Luther's death. In 1552, the Lutheran preacher in Hamburg, Westphal, had declared war on the Sacramentarians, and he classified Calvin among them. He challenged all Lutheran theologians to unite in a crusade against them. King Christian wholeheartedly wished to support Luther, Wittenberg and strict Lutheran Orthodoxy, and was determined - as seen before - to have no Anabaptists or Sacramentarians (Zwinglians) in Denmark. The question was, whether Calvin and his disciples could justly be considered Sacramentarians.

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(1) Dr. Martin Luther's Short Confession concerning the Sacrament, cited in Rörda, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 125.

The Danish King did not decide that alone. In 1552 he had secured two German Lutheran theologians as Royal Chaplains, Magister Pouel von Nimwegen and Magister Heinrich von Brockhoff⁽¹⁾. They had been educated at Wittenberg, and were adherents of strict Lutheranism. Their influence upon the King and his attitude towards Johannes a Lasco and his party, and others, proved decisive. Having arrived at Elsinore, the refugees were asked why they had come in such large numbers. They returned the unanimous reply, that "they had been deprived of the testimony of the Word of God and the Holy Gospel and the right Worship, wherefore they would rather leave in poverty, than remain under the Cross with worldly possessions"⁽²⁾. The King was visiting at the time in Kolding, Jütland, and Johannes a Lasco and two of his Reformed pastors went to see him there, asking freedom for themselves and their congregations to stay in Denmark. No direct answer was obtained immediately. The Royal Chaplain, Poul von Nimwegen, expressed his regret over the unfortunate experiences which the party had suffered, but added that the King had little regard for their Church, particularly for their administration of the Lord's Supper.

On the following Sunday, November 10th, however, in a sermon before an audience which included both

(1) Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 125.

(2) Helweg, op. cit., p. 126.

the King and the foreign Theologians, he charged the Heretics and Sectarians of the time, and included among them the Sacramentarians, who were called "false teachers and unbelievers, destined to eternal loss". and warned all Christians against such people.

A Royal decree, published next day, by no means encouraged the refugees any more than the sermon had done. The visit of the Reformed party was assuredly not the sole reason for the decree, as we have already noted cases, which might have prompted its composition, and several other instances could be mentioned of Anabaptistical and Zwinglian adherents in Denmark at this time. Nevertheless, it seems as if the visit of Johannes a Lasco and his party was the direct cause for the severe decree which was published. We cite some of its contents as follows:

" - as we have learned that many Anabaptists and Sacramentarians and other enthusiasts congregate and reveal themselves in these surrounding lands - going from one country into another - and with their false dealings and views create insurrection and ~~turn~~^{turn} many sincere people from the holy Christian faith, the Word of God and the Gospel, which previously has been accomplished by the said Anabaptists and Sacramentarians in other lands" -

therefore all ecclesiastics in the Danish Church and every official holding secular office are asked -

"not to take any such foreigners into their service, before it has been examined where they come from, and what their purpose is, in order that no Anabaptist or Sacramentarian shall make his home in our realm and lands."

This decree was to be published on every church door in cities and towns throughout the realm⁽¹⁾.

It thus appeared quite hopeless for Johannes a Lasco and his two companions to expect any hospitality on Danish soil. They expressed their dissatisfaction with the ordinances of the Danish Church and attacked severely Magister Poul von Nimwegen's sermon, which, they alleged, had been delivered in order to condemn them and their views. They demanded a public colloquy to discuss the teachings and ceremonies in question, "because the truth of the teachings must surely be founded not upon the laws of the realm, but upon the immovable Word of God"⁽²⁾.

The King, however, would have no colloquy. "Should we, every time the Devil blows something into the ears of someone, demand a colloquy, or a disputation, about the indisputable meaning, foundation and Word of Holy Scriptures, then there would be no limit to colloquies and conversations without anything having been accomplished"⁽³⁾. The reply was sent to the foreign theologians in the name of the King, but there is no doubt that it had been worded by a Lutheran theologian, most assuredly Poul von Nimwegen.

(1) Chr. III's Hist. op. cit., Vol. II: Recesser, Forordninger og aabne Breve, København 1778, pp. 221-222.

(2) Cf. Helweg, op. cit., p. 127.

(3) Ibid., pp. 127-128.

2. Exiled as Calvinistic adherents from Denmark by Royal decree.

Several private disputations about the Lord's Supper followed, however, between the two Chaplains and the three leading Reformed refugees. The Chaplains, of course, defended the Lutheran view against the Calvinism of their opponents, while they also informed them that, in regard to their request of being granted the hospitality of the country, the King was bound by the laws of the land, and could not himself change what he with his council had long since decided. On November 15th, Christian III replied to the refugees, that if they would subscribe to the Ordinance of the Danish Church within twenty-four hours, they would be permitted to stay in the country; but they remained true to their convictions. Accordingly, on November 17, they were commanded immediately to depart from the country and granted 100 Thaler for the travelling expenses. They petitioned the King to be permitted to stay throughout the winter, but this was denied them. On November 19th 1553, greatly indignant over the unexpected reception which Denmark offered them, they left Kolding in order to go through Sleswig into Germany (1).

The main body of Johannes a Lasco's party had arrived in Copenhagen from Elsinore. They were offered the same terms as their leaders, if they desired to make

(1) Ibid., p. 128.

their homes in Denmark. Two of their number, David Simson and Hermes Bachelarius, met with some preachers, teachers and civic officials of Copenhagen at the residence of Palladius. The foreign visitors were asked to give their confession of faith, and began to set forth the Apostolic Confession. But Palladius interrupted them. All that he wished to know was their view on Infant Baptism, on the Humanity of Christ, and on the Sacrament of the Altar. They held "that our saving fellowship with the Lord in His body and blood exists by faith, and not by any presence of Christ's body and blood under the elements of bread and wine". They were informed of the decision of the King, that they had to leave the country, unless they changed their view on the Lord's Supper. They begged that, for the sake of their little children and feeble old people, they might be permitted to remain in Denmark during the severe winter; but the Magistracy, although touched by their appeal, felt bound to obey the Royal command. Every one of the visitors was given a chance to recant the Calvinistic view, but only one family, a shoemaker and his wife, did so. And, during the days of December 12 - 16, 1553, the whole party, except thirteen sick people, the two who had recanted and the three leaders who had gone on before, set sail also for Germany⁽¹⁾.

(1) The whole story is discussed in detail on the basis of original documents in Harboe, Preface to Zwergius's *Sjællandske Cleresie*, pp. 11-108, with the view of defending the Royal action.

The implications of the action against Johannes a Lasco and his party are not far to find. The Calvinistic view on the Communion had been decided to be heretical, and its representatives were granted the fate of Anabaptists and Zwinglians. It is of interest to note, however, that the King was not desirous of breaking with the Protestants of England, as we see when later he secured the freedom of Myles Coverdale from imprisonment by "bloody" Mary Tudor, and offered him a post in Denmark.

3. The King asks the University to justify his action against the Reformed party.

But the case was not thereby finished.

In order to counteract any criticism

of his action, the King demanded of the

theologians of the University of Copenhagen a condemnation of the views of Johannes a Lasco and his party. It is on this occasion, that we learn the attitude of Johannes Macchabæus to this whole affair, and find his sensational, courageous declaration regarding the condemnation of the Reformed adherents.

4. Macchabæus produces a sensational Postludium.

Palladius was willing to justify the

action of the King, to judge heretical

and condemn the views of the celebrated Polish Reformer and his congregations. But Macchabæus objected. We possess his reply of January 14th, 1554, to Palladius, in which he stated that he was unable thoughtlessly to con-

demn people in absentia and unknown to him, and that regarding the views in question, he himself in his heart adhered to the Word of Holy Scripture without all sophistries. He added: "Should any one find, therefore, that I can not, or should not, be tolerated, then I shall, as soon as it is authoritatively notified to me, in all peace and without reproaching any one, leave the country"⁽¹⁾. Macchabæus's position was unmistakable. His bold declaration is a testimony alike to the strength of his conviction, and to his position, while the spirit which he exhibits is a sign of his considerate and gracious Christian attitude. Although an open breach had taken place between him and Palladius, Macchabæus was, of course, not asked to sign the condemnation, nor to leave. He was loved by the students, he had served during twelve long years at the University, more constantly than any Danish theologian. His liberal influence had left its mark upon a large number of the men who went out into the evangelical ministry, to such an extent that his particular views found adherents into the next century. King Christian held him in high esteem. The orthodox Chaplains and Palladius might secure condemnatory sentences over foreign theologians and men of lesser importance in the Danish Church, but Macchabæus was not impeachable.

(1) Letter in full in Latin in Ibid., pp. 105-106. Cf. Helweg, op. cit., p. 131.

The case was most probably dropped. Had Hemmingsen been requested to sign the declaration against Johannes a Lasco and his party, he would undoubtedly have followed the example of his præceptor, Johannes Macchabæus.

Macchabæus received a Royal command, less than two weeks later, to supervise a registration of the books and letters of the Monastery of Om in Jütland.⁽¹⁾ It is to be supposed that he at the same time, made a visit to the King in Kolding, to explain his attitude in the case⁽²⁾. The ailment from which he suffered in his head, in 1552, seems to have increased and undermined his health. A note written by one of his students, on January 4th, 1554, informs us that Macchabæus is prospering in health, but on April 24, 1554, while he was lecturing, he experienced a sudden illness, which made him unable to walk, or to stand on his feet⁽³⁾. In October he was able to visit the King in Nyborg on Fynen, to negotiate with him in the interests of the University⁽⁴⁾.

5. Palladius holds the Reformed Churches heretical. If, in the controversies of the last few years, Macchabæus exhibited a liberal attitude towards Protestants, whose views and emphases differed dogmatically somewhat from the strict Lutheran

(1) Aarsberetn. fra Geh.-Ark., Vol. I, Tillæg, p. 35.
Rördam, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 592.

(2) Rördam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 592.

(3) Ibid., p. 593, Note I, in Latin. Also Ibid., Vol. IV, Tillæg Nr. 40, a note in a letter.

(4) Danske Mag. 3 R, Vol. VI, p. 259, Slangendorpius, Oratio de initiis doctrinæ, etc., Hafnia 1591, Bl. p. 5.

position, then he chose a definite stand in favour of the confessional point of view, which was soon to prove characteristic of the Evangelical Church in his native land.

During the winter following the visit of Johannes a Lasco, Palladius had found reason to give some lectures on religious "enthusiasts" of the time. Melanchthon had the lectures printed, in 1558, under the title: "Catalogus aliquot hæresium hujus ætatis", in which Antinomians, "Interimists", "Oslandrianists" and other individual religious "enthusiasts" are mentioned. But that he did not send Palladius a printed copy seems evident from the fact that when the advocate of strict Lutheran Orthodoxy, Hans Resen, who took over the theological faculty at the University in 1610, republished Palladius's lectures in 1655, they were found to include not only Anabaptists, but also Sacramentarians among the heretics. Melanchthon, fearing the consequences otherwise, had cut^{out} the part of Palladius's manuscript which dealt with the latter groups. And we are not surprised at this deliberate action of Melanchthon, when we discover in the publication of 1635, that Palladius, in his Catalogue of Heretics, had included Zwingli, Bucer, the Reformers of Southern Germany, those of Zurich, the English Protestant Church and several French Evangelical Churches. Palladius did not mention the name

of Calvin, but cited Calvin's view on the Lord's Supper, that Christ enthroned in Heaven is not in the elements of the Communion, and replied: "It is no easy matter, which it is claimed, to come to an agreement, unless some depart from their views. What applies to our sinful body, - that it is bound to a single place, - is not applicable to the glorified body of Christ, so that He may well, because of his omnipotent power, fulfil his promise in the Sacrament"(1).

6. Decree against Anabaptists and Sacramentarians republished in 1555.

The Royal decree against Anabaptists and Sacramentarians, of 1555, was republished

in November 1555. Nonconformity was to be punished with the loss of honour, estate, grace and life, not only with respect to those who were convicted of such views, but also for those, even noblemen, who gave them work, food or lodgings(2). The Diet of Augsburg left its impression also upon Denmark.

(1) Helweg, op. cit., pp. 131-132.

(2) Kgl. Forordning om Vederdøbere oc Sacramentere, dat: Kiøbenhavn, Sct. Michels Dag 1555, may be found in full in Chr. III's Historie, op. cit., Vol. II, Kiøbenhavn 1778, pp. 240-242.

CHAPTER VII.

THE STORY OF THE EVENTFUL YEARS OF DR. MACCHABÆUS'S
SERVICE IN DENMARK. Third Part: 1555 - 1557.

A. The King's increasing interest in the welfare of
Church and University, 1554 till his death.

The subjection under the Crown of the financial endowments of the old Church and University at the establishment of the Reformation left the new Church and the University impoverished and at the mercy of the secular authority. In the Ordinance of the Church and the Foundation Charter of the University the King had promised to make provisions for both; but years passed and their needs were still insufficiently met. The consequences ensued. The clergy complained about the economic conditions under which they had to work. Poverty kept young men from preparing for ecclesiastical positions. The changes among the University professors were frequent, because of the rather meagre salaries offered them. Bugenhagen and the national church leaders implored the King to take measures to supply the wants both of Church and University, but it seemed quite impossible to break through the opposition of the Council of State against further grants for academic and ecclesiastical purposes.

This situation, however, was changed by 1554-55. The reason for the King's definite and determined efforts to meet such needs seems not far to find. He

went through a long and dangerous illness at this time, and from thenceforward till his death he was deeply and constructively interested in the affairs of his Church and of the University, which was his pride⁽¹⁾.

1. He counsels with Palladius, Macchabæus and others about Church and University to help complaints. His renewed interest in their welfare expressed itself in practical ways. It was to consider the state of affairs at the University that, on October 26, 1554, he called Palladius, Macchabæus and Morsing, professor in medicine, over to him at Nyborg Castle, "as he regarded them to be those who were most acquainted with the demands of the University and most qualified to counsel him how it might be brought into a satisfactory condition and elevated into greater glory than hitherto". The Professors arrived and lodged with the Pastor of the Parish Church, Hr. Niels Pedersen⁽²⁾. We learn from the records, that Christian III heard them "with great patience"; but final decisions could not be made by him alone and were postponed until the next Diet⁽³⁾. Half a year later, however, on March 26, 1555, the King again com-

(1) The King's illness began in 1554. Bugenhagen writes anxiously concerning it in letter of Oct. 30, 1554 from Wittenberg. Schumacher, *Gel. Män, Briefe*, Vol. I, pp. 197-203. In 1555 the illness increased to such a dangerous degree that, when he was again restored, Palladius exclaimed concerning him: "vere ex morte ad vitam revocetur". Cf. Rörðam, Vol. I, p. 230, Note 2.

(2) *Danske Mag.*, 3 R., Vol. VI, p. 259, Rörðam, Vol. I, p. 231, Note 1.

(3) Slangendorp l.c., according to Palladius's notes in the old matriculation chart of the Univ. Cf. Rörðam, Vol. I, p. 231.

manded the three professors to appear before him as "we wish further to deal with them concerning the income which we intend to add to the University"⁽¹⁾. He informed the guvernor (Lensmanden) of Zealand, Hans Barnekov, that he had sent for the professors to negotiate with them about an increase in the income of the University and asked him "to finish the dealings, which we have commanded you, in order that the highly learned men shall not make the journey in vain"⁽²⁾. Palladius, Macchabæus and Morsing set out on the wearisome tour again⁽³⁾, but they had arrived no farther than Antvorskov, when a messenger stopped them and instructed them to return to Copenhagen, as the King hoped to arrive in the Capital shortly⁽⁴⁾.

2. The University The meeting took place in May 1555 in the further endowed. presence of the King. On the 20th, he signed a document which endowed the University with additional lands, the income of which amounted to 600 Thaler annually. In September it was signed also by the King-Elect, Duke Frederik, and the Council of State. The

(1) Letter is printed in full in Rørdam, Vol. IV, p. 65, from Tegnelse over alle Lande, Vol. IV, p. 521.

(2) Tegnelse over alle Lande, Vol. IV, p. 522.

(3) Ca. 70 miles across Zealand by carriage and ca. 14 miles by boat over the Great Belt between Zealand and Fynen.

(4) Danske Mag. 3 R, Vol. VI, p. 259, Cf. Rørdam, Vol. I, p. 236.

increase in the endowments of the University were not yet sufficient, but the Professors had reason to rejoice in the royal enactment. Those of the higher faculties who had received 100, or 150, Thaler annually now had their stipend raised to 200 Thaler. The Professors in the Faculty of Philosophy, who previously had 70 Thaler, were to receive 100 Thaler annually⁽¹⁾.

3. The Students as- The Students were also supplied with
sisted with additio- additional financial aids. They were to
nal aids. have some part of the income just mentioned, while an enactment of September 1555 further endowed the General Hospital in Copenhagen (Helliggæisthus) with the royal tithes of 39 parishes on Zealand on condition that the director of the hospital should provide 20 poor students daily with two meals and a suitable amount of beer! The example of the King prompted the Royal Chancellor, the conservator of the University, Johan Friis, to make a grant of 1000 Thaler, the interest of which was to be divided among 40 students annually⁽²⁾.

4. The Church: The The needs of the Church were likewise not
Synod of Copenhagen forgotten. In May 1555 a synod was held
May 1555. in Copenhagen,⁽³⁾ at which the Professors of the University

(1) Rørdam, Vol. I, p. 233, and Notes.

(2) Rørdam, Vol. I, p. 237, and Notes.

(3) Decision of Synod printed in Chr. III's History Vol. II, pp. 242-52 and Suppl. pp. 147-153.

participated. A review of the financial income of the parishes had been prepared, and it was decided to increase clerical stipends where they were insufficient, to do away with unnecessary ecclesiastical livings and to demolish superfluous churches. The King desired to make an end to the complaints of the ministry⁽¹⁾, and one satisfied contemporary writer informs us that he "let no one leave un comforted"⁽²⁾.

5. The King's Illness of 1554-1555.
His Piety.

The piety of King Christian III increased from the time of his illness through the remaining years of his life. A few suggestive pictures have been left to us giving evidence of his deep religious devotion. When a new chaplain, Magister Andreas Mortensen, a German, like all the rest of the royal chaplains, known for his strictness and Lutheran zeal, made his first sermon before the King just before the confessional, he addressed his Majesty with all his royal titles. But Christian interrupted him and said: "Master Anders, shall I teach you how to deliver (lit: grant forgiveness to) people? I kneel here not as King of Denmark, but as a poor sinner, and I am not here to be called most gracious Lord, but only and simply Christian"⁽³⁾.

(1) Danske Mag. 3, R, III, pp. 304-5 note. And Pontopp. Ann. Vol. III, pp. 334-5.

(2) Slangendorp, Oratio de unitiis etc., Bl. n. 6, from Rördam, Vol. I, p. 232.

(3) Zwergius, Sjæll. Cleresi, pp. 463-64. Cited in Helweg, pp. 150-53.

He resided mostly at the Castle of Copenhagen, but wherever he stayed he visited the Church daily, and in the Capital he rode his horse every morning at 6 o'clock to the Church of the Holy Ghost (Helliggeisthus). Every Sunday he went with his household to Evensong in the Church of Our Lady. He would have no important decision made at any Diet before he and the acting parties had been at Church to hear the Word of God and make their prayers. The scene at the time of his death is very touching. He had been ill for some^{time}, and on Christmas Eve his chaplain, Poul von Nimwegen, came to comfort him, but he replied kindly: "Someone has been by me, who told me to be of good cheer and that my weakness shall come to a happy end on New Year's Day", and so it did. The Chaplain came, on New Year's Day 1559, from his own father's deathbed to see the King. "Today I shall follow him, and as you were with your father in his last moments so you must be with me", said Christian. He asked the chaplain to make his sermon short, as time was scarce, received the Sacrament of the Altar, comforted his wife, the Queen, and blessed his children. Then he sang Luther's Psalm: "Mit Fried und Freud fahr ich dahin". Next he asked the Chaplain to sing: "Nun lässt uns den Leib begraben", and on the same day he died.⁽¹⁾

(1) From the funeral orations of J. Bording and H. Thomasen, from Krag, Chr. III's Hist. Vol. I, Cited in Helweg, pp. 153-154.

B. Palladius suffers a stroke, withdraws from teaching at the University, 1555.

1. His attempts to We have seen that Palladius's duties as awaken interest in academical studies. Superintendent of Zealand had already

in 1545 demanded that he give up lecturing at the University. Macchabæus had to carry the main responsibility of instructing in Theology and was to teach alone from 1548 for a couple of years, when Palladius was again asked to assist him. He had the work of the University greatly at heart. When the King attempted to improve the financial basis of the institution, Palladius set out to re-awaken the interest of the youth of the land in academic studies. He published in 1555 a "Divisio Philosophiæ", which has been called "the first lines of a sketch of the whole Complexas Scientiarum, or a suitable Encyclopædia", to show the inner relationship among the various fields of science. He had also on August 24, 1555 published a review of the lectures for the ensuing year in which he remarked that it was his purpose to give the "students of the Schools" an idea of what they might expect to find at the University, to make them desirous of studying theology.

It was no easy matter to be a student at the university. Many young men feared the privations and hardships which they would have to face, if they took up academic studies, and chose other professions. Palladius's method of advertising was not only needed, but

but exceedingly constructive. His "Divisio Philosophiæ", portraying the range of philosophical studies, emphasized the outlook of the day, that the real purpose of the philosophical sciences was to prepare the way for a study of Theology, as of them "the baskets are woven in which the Treasure of the Gospel is hidden and faithfully brought before the Christian people". It was necessary to urge young men to take up academical pursuits, not only for the sake of the University, but also for the sake of supplying the ministry of the Evangelical Church.

2. Palladius suffers Both Macchabæus and Palladius were of paralytic stroke, continues publications. frail health. We have earlier noted their complaints. But in May 1555, during the Synod of Copenhagen, Palladius suffered, while he delivered a sermon, a stroke which paralyzed one side of his body.. He was unable to move about any more; could neither lecture at the University nor visit the churches from that time on. But he retained his mental faculties unimpaired, and whereas he was formerly so much engaged in the practical duties of his offices that he hardly had time to write, he made that his main pursuit during the years which followed till his death, five and a half years later, in January 1560; and his publications increased considerably during that period(1).

(1) Rörðam, Vol. I, pp. 239_240.

3. Macchabæus and Hemmingsen reign at the Univeraity.

Palladius's illness did mean, however, that Macchabæus and the young brilliant

theologian, Niels Hemmingsen, who had become a professor two years before, definitely became the leaders of the University in theological affairs. Macchabæus himself had only two years more in which to live and work at the University. He was no longer alone in advocating liberal evangelical views in opposition to strict Lutheran orthodoxy. Hemmingsen stood by him. Macchabæus was his beloved teacher. Their school of Theology, in which their students were instructed in preparation for office in the Danish evangelical church had begun the reign which was to last into the next century.

C. Macchabæus saves Myles Coverdale from Mary Tudor's Persecution.

It is at this time that we have the account of an event which touches upon the family life of Macchabæus, of which we otherwise have scarcely any record. The episode is one of the most curious and captivating occurrences in the life of one of the celebrated men in the translation of the English Bible. It is the fact that Myles Coverdale through the intervention of Macchabæus was saved from the stake which Mary Tudor undoubtedly had intended for him.

When last we dealt with the life of Myles Coverdale and his relationship to Johannes Macchabæus we left him Bishop of Exeter during the reign of King Edward. But the King died, and Coverdale held the see of Exeter for only two years. Queen Mary followed King Edward. Roman Catholicism found anew a representative on the English Throne, and the fires of persecution of Protestants were lit again. Myles Coverdale had served well in his office, but he had married - the sister of the wife of Johannes Macchabæus, as we earlier noted - and was known to be one of the most zealous of the English Reformers. His contribution in making the Bible available in the Vernacular for the English people was well known: Seventeen years had he spent in exile to work on translations of the Bible into his mother tongue.

1. Myles Coverdale's Coverdale had been consecrated Bishop of imprisonment in Exeter on August 30, 1551, but was England.

turned out of his See when Queen Mary ascended the Throne. She and her advisers wished, in their mad persecution of Protestantism, to start at the root of the trouble, the Bible and its translators⁽¹⁾. Coverdale was arrested. He was not imprisoned, but confined and kept under guard while his case awaited further developments. He was, of course, accused of heretical views,

(1) Memorials of Myles Coverdale, op. cit., p. 157.

but it seems that his persecutors had not yet found sufficient reason to condemn him to death, the fate of several other celebrated English reformers. But he was unable to leave the country. The outlook was threatening; his life was in danger. Queen Mary's intention with him as with other persistent Protestants was known only too well. In the beginning of 1554 he succeeded somehow in making his brother-in-law-, Dr. Johan. Macchabæus in Copenhagen, acquainted with his ill fate⁽¹⁾, imploring him to have King Christian III take him under his protection, or beg grace for him from the English Queen, that his liberty and life be preserved.

2. The correspondence between Chr. III and Mary concerning Coverdale.

There seems to be no doubt that Coverdale had spent most of the time from 1530 to 1534 in Denmark, where he made

the acquaintance of Christian III, then King-Elect⁽²⁾.

Dr. Macchabæus made, during the earlier part of 1554, repeated visits to the Danish Court to secure the King's intervention in favour of Coverdale. A most interesting correspondence ensued between the Danish and the English monarchs⁽³⁾. The King wrote from Koldinghus in Jutland, on April 1554, to Queen Mary, stating that he did so upon the most earnest petitions of one of his subjects, a man of great learning and piety, whom he revered

(1) Molbech, C., En Beretning om den Engelse Bibeloper-sætter, Biskop Myles Coverdale, og hans Ophold i Danmark under Chr. III, Historisk Tidsskrift, Kjøbenhavn 1844, Vol. V, (pp. 139-158), p. 153.

(2) Ibid., p. 144.

(3) The letters may be found in John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, London 1641. pp. 182-183. Foxe wrongly called Macchabæus "Pastor and Superintendent" p. 182, column 1 at the top.

greatly, and who, both by ties of blood and common spiritual gifts, was related to "a certain Myles Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter", who now through the unhappy circumstances of the time was found to be in a most lamentable situation and thrown into prison and in danger of his life. Christian, trusting in the good relationship which from days past had existed between the two realms, could not neglect to ask the Queen to forgive Coverdale; and to beg that, if contemporary circumstances made it impossible, or undesirable, for him to stay in England, the Queen would permit him with his family to seek refuge in Denmark. He would regard this as a proof of excellent good-will and ever be willing to grant any request of the Queen, which it was in his power to fulfil.

This letter was not without effect. Mary replied that she wished to assure him that Coverdale was not accused of any act of treason, which the letter of the King had seemed to imply, but truly was in arrears in his debts to the royal treasury, that he should not fail to experience the effect of His Majesty's petition and intervention; and that the King, with whom she always desired to remain in the best of relationship, was not to doubt, that she at every opportunity would exhibit moderation and such kindness as ought always

to accompany the sword of justice in the hand of the Monarch.

Queen Mary's motives for removing Coverdale from his see and keeping him confined were, of course, far more serious than merely a financial debt. The generality of her expressions and the indefinite and ambiguous manner in which she expressed herself did not therefore satisfy the King, Macchabæus and his family. Christian was pressed a second time to write to the Queen more definitely to demand Coverdale's freedom to leave the country, in which the aged divine saw his only salvation. The King's letter gives evidence of careful wording and excellent diplomacy⁽¹⁾. He wrote from Odense on September 24, 1554, that it had made him happy to learn that it was no crime, but a debt to the Crown or the Queen, of which Coverdale was accused, and that the King therefore could be so much more assured, that the Queen was perfectly willing to fulfil his request. He desired nothing else but that she would permit Coverdale in person to appear before the King and thereby prove to him, that he had no reason to fear for his life or freedom. The King was already assured that her Majesty would fulfil her promise regarding the significance which she placed upon his

(1) The correspondence took place in Latin. Foxe has rendered an English translation of this second letter of the King in Ibid., p. 183.

recommendation and request, that he had not been able to refrain from granting the relatives of Coverdale in Denmark, who were uneasy and anxious about his fate, his Royal Word that no danger threatened him, and that he would experience the realization of his wishes.

It is evident that Queen Mary saw how earnestly and definitely the Danish King interceded for Myles Coverdale. But there were forceful factors in England which sought to make her deal differently with the former Bishop of Exeter. Five months passed from the time the King wrote his letter before she penned her reply on February 16, 1555.

Queen Mary wrote that although Coverdale, her native subject, had not yet paid the demands which the treasury had upon him, she would, however, out of respect for the King not set herself against the fulfilment of his desire, wherefore she had granted Coverdale liberty to leave for Denmark. On February 19, 1555, Coverdale received a permit for himself and two servants,⁽¹⁾ which seems to indicate that his wife who was alive when he was promoted to his episcopal see,⁽²⁾ either must have died or preceded him to Copenhagen to plead his case. We have no means to determine her fate.

(1) Molbeck, op. cit., p. 156.

(2) Memorials, op. cit., p. 139.

3. Myles Coverdale A new wave of persecution of Protestants arrives in Copenhagen, 1555. had passed over England, before Coverdale's

release, with greater severity than ever. It is impossible to think that he would have escaped the fiery stake if he had not been saved through the efforts and prayers of Macchabæus. "He was", as Fuller says, "as a fire brand plucked out of the burning"⁽¹⁾. The time which elapsed between the receipt of the Queen's first letter and Coverdale's arrival was so long as to cause the relatives in Copenhagen further anxiety. When therefore he actually appeared "he was received with the joy and welcome with which those are greeted by their friends, who have unexpectedly escaped from greater danger."⁽²⁾ Macchabæus and his family received Coverdale with open arms. It must have been a touching experience for those two pioneers in the Evangelical cause in Scotland and England, having suffered persecution and exile for the sake of their Christian faith, to meet in Copenhagen. The Danish King rejoiced no less in the presence of the celebrated divine in whose behalf he had interested himself and interceded so untiringly. The University complimented the distinguished visitor with gifts of wine and claret⁽³⁾.

(1) ~~The~~ Fuller, Hist. of the Church, 1655 Vol. IX, p. 611.
Cited in Molbeck, op. cit. p. 156, note.

(2) Memorials, op. cit., p. 163.

(3) Danske Mæg. 3 R., Vol. VI, p. 260. Cited in Rördam Vol. I, p. 594.

4. Coverdale's later experiences. We have no record of the length of

Coverdale's stay in Denmark. The King offered him an ecclesiastical benefice, but Coverdale declined it because of his lack of knowledge of the Danish language. He felt that he could hardly be of any use in Denmark, and to sit idly enjoying peace and rest while his native evangelical brethren suffered in exile during the persecutions was unthinkable for this courageous soldier of the Gospel. He knew that many of them had sought refuge in the Netherlands and in the cities along the Rhine in Germany. He therefore left Denmark for Wesel, where he was engaged for a time as pastor and preacher to some of his countrymen. Internal strife amongst them caused him to leave for Bergzabern in Zweibrücken, where he had ministered before during a period of exile on the Continent. We know that he returned to England in the latter part of 1559 under Queen Elizabeth and officiated as a bishop, though without a see, at Matthew Parker's consecration as Archbishop of Canterbury, on December 17, 1559. He was 71 years old but not until 4 years later, in March 1563, did he secure a charge in the church. He was appointed rector of the parish of St. Magnus, close to London Bridge, whose congregation, 275 years later, in 1837, erected a monument in his honour. Coverdale was in such poverty that he was forced to petition Queen

Elizabeth to annul the claims of the Crown on the first fruits of his first year's stipend. He held the charge only for three years, and another three years passed before his risky, busy and untiring life came to an end at the age of 81. He was buried as a celebrated reformer, with large crowds paying him their respect, in the Church of St. Bartholomew in London on February 19, 1569⁽¹⁾.

D. Macchabæus under Suspicion by Lutheran Orthodoxy.

Macchabæus's life and service were drawing to a close. But his last year was taken up with great theological issues which received attention at the University of Copenhagen, and it is from those that we secure further insight into his theological position and influence in the Danish University and Church. We find evidence to the effect that he, during the first half of his last year, 1557, was under suspicion by Lutheran Orthodoxy, and that he found opportunity during the latter half of the year, before his death, actually to champion the Reformed, or Calvinistic, views which he really had represented and taught in the University.

1. The Occasion: Hardenberg in Bremen, Calvinistic adherent.

The occasion which arose to test his theological orthodoxy and which

apparently caused Palladius and the royal Chaplain a

(1) Molbeck, op. cit., pp. 157-158.

good deal of worry, was really a complicated one.

Some incidents of opposition had taken place publicly in 1556-7 in the Church at Bremen where Dr. Albrecht Hardenberg, the pastor was accused of Calvinism. The Danish King found reason to remind the City Council of Bremen not to allow room for heretical teaching in their city⁽¹⁾.

2. The King and his Chaplains become aware of the divided theological camp at the Univ. of Copenhagen.

Certain events during the last few years caused this anxiety on the part of the King. For one thing, the

Synergistic strife in Germany divided the theological camp in Denmark along the lines which we have before noticed - Peder Palladius and his brother, Magister Niels Palladius (since 1552 Superintendent in Lund) on the one side, - and Macchabæus, Hemmingsen and the other Danish disciples of Melancthon, whom all of them termed their "Præceptor", on the other side.

Then certain events during the latter years had caused the King to become attentive to the issues between the Lutheran and the Reformed theologians in Denmark. His high estimation of Luther, the authority of the brothers Palladius and the influence of the two royal chaplains, Poul von Nimwegen and Henrich von Bruchofen, made him see the attitude and position of Macchabæus

(1) Chr. III's Hist. II. pp. 240-242

and Hemmingsen and their disciples in the case of the two Odense priests and that of Johannes a Lasco and his party. Added to this was the anxiety which he and his counsellors felt over certain Anabaptistic, or Mennonite, groups in his Southern Dukedoms. He had taken precaution against dissenters among the people in the decree of 1553, and especially in 1555, when they were brought under the penalty of deprivation of honour, property, limbs, and life. But the case of Hardenberg induced him to allow an examination at the very seat of theological authority in Denmark, the University of Copenhagen.

3. Palladius attempts to expose Calvinism and Macchabæus through the Tabella de Cæna, April 1557.

The plan and procedure of having each professor subscribe to a "Tabella de Cæna Domini", which was adopted, was

undoubtedly conceived by Peder and Niels Palladius. A debate in the faculty of the University, 19 years later, in 1576, when Hemmingsen was openly accused of Calvinism, contained an interesting note, which revealed the purpose of the whole demonstration of signing the Tabella, in 1557. The Tabella was mentioned with the remark that it had been decided upon in order to be certain of Macchabæus's view regarding the Communion - "cum motum esset certamen D. Machabæo de cæna"⁽¹⁾. Here then is discovered

(1) Ny Kirkehist. Saml., Vol. IV, p. 281, cited in Rördam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 260, Note 1.

the real reason why Palladius urged the King to demand the Tabella, though the King probably did not realize that to demand such a confession was an attack on Macchabæus.

The Tabella contained seven different views on the Lord's Supper. The first five, those of Carlstadt, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, the Anabaptists and the Papists, were judged heretical. That of Calvin, the sixth, was in general declared correct, while disapproval was expressed over the specific contention that unbelievers received not the body and blood of Christ in the Communion, but only bread and wine. Then followed the seventh, the Lutheran view, which was declared in agreement with the words of Christ himself and Saint Paul. Each of the professors at the University was asked to make a declaration in which in agreement with the Tabella he rejected "the infamy of the Sacramentarians and the errors of the heretics", and "approved and held the true teaching regarding the sacred meal of Jesus Christ"⁽¹⁾. A year later, in a treatise on Repentance and Justification, Palladius termed the Sacramentarians "furious wolves, who had broken out of the Church and not spared the herd"⁽²⁾.

(1) Cited in Rördam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 260.

(2) Harboes Introduction to Zwergius Sjæll. Cleresi, op. cit., p. 100. Cited in Rördam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257.

The brothers Palladius subscribed clearly and definitely according to the Lutheran Confession. Hemmingsen himself claimed to hold especially "the Augsburg and the Saxon Confessions and that of our own Churches" and to believe according to the same. He had yet to be promoted to the doctorate of Theology, which the Foundation demanded of a theological professor, - a position which he had already held for four years. Later in his life he would not have been able to give the Tabella his signature, but it is to be supposed that he permitted himself to subscribe to more than his heart really sanctioned. Macchabæus cleverly worded his declaration so vaguely that he expressed nothing definitely while at the same time it made him immune from any attacks by the strict Lutherans. He declared that he "condemns and absolutely denies all the errors, which unjustly and fals^ly have been devised against the truth of the Supper of Jesus Christ", and that he "renounces in mind and heart all the teaching, which has been produced by men against the truth of the same Supper, and on the other hand agrees to, and sanctions, that contention and teaching, which the Holy Gospels teach in their writings and which now is taught and confessed in the highly famed school in Wittenberg".(1).

(1) Cited in Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 595, in the original, Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 84. The whole Tabella in the original in Ibid., pp. 78-86.

4. Melanchthon cuts Melanchthon was not ignorant of the di-
Manuscript of Pal-
ladius's "New Her- vergency of views among the Copenhagen
esies".

theologians, but he did not interfere in the
issues which arose within Denmark without any signal ef-
fect upon the course of events on the Continent. It is
a well known fact that he wished and worked for unity among
the Protestant groups and that he was on friendly terms
with Calvin. An interesting case arose, however, from
the attacks of Palladius on Calvinism and Melanchthon's
sincere attempt to avoid and prevent strife between the
two great Protestant camps.

When Macchabæus in 1554 declared his unwilling-
ness to condemn Johan. a Lasco and his party and their views,
Palladius had given a lecture at the University of Copen-
hagen in which he denounced the Sacramentarians as
"Sectarians and disturbers in the church of God"⁽¹⁾.
Later he prepared the lecture for publication under the
title "De novis hæresibus". It treated such various con-
temporary religious groups and their teachings as he
judged heretical, and among the heretics he included the
Sacramentarians. The "De novis hæresibus" was sent to
Wittenberg in manuscript to be printed there. Melanchthon
read it through and discovered Palladius's direct con-

(1) L. Harboe's Introduction to Zwergius Sjællandske
Cleresi, op. cit., pp. 99-100.

demnation of the Sacramentarians, which was about to be made public, and which, without doubt, included Calvin. Melanchthon not only held Calvin as a friend, and disagreed with Palladius, but he probably also felt that it would be regrettable for the Primate of the Danish Church to oppose Calvinism on the Continent. He saw obviously, also, that it was undesirable that Wittenberg should authorize the attack on the adherents of Calvinism in Denmark by printing the booklet of Palladius unabridged and without a revision of its contents, as Macchabæus and Hemmingsen presently voiced the attitude of the learned divine of Wittenberg. It was now their day at the University of Copenhagen. We may, however, disagree with Melanchthon's method of settling the case: Instead of writing to the author requesting a change in the manuscript, he simply cut out that part of the treatise which dealt with the Sacramentarians! Then he wrote a preface to the book in which he referred to ancient and contemporary heresies without mentioning anything about the Sacramentarians, and concluded by congratulating the Danish Church on all the blessings of God, which it enjoyed, - a wise and pious King, purity of doctrine, unity among the churches, peace and tranquillity in the State, adding the prayer that all such precious gifts might remain with the Old Danish Kingdom. The booklet on "De novis hæresibus" was then published in the name

of Palladius, whom Melanchthon on its title page called "the pilot of the Church of God in the famous Kingdom of Denmark"⁽¹⁾. We have no knowledge of the author's reaction to the treatment^{to} which the celebrated preceptor in Wittenberg ~~subjected~~ his treatise. Melanchthon, however, had not done the work of purification thoroughly enough. References were found in the book to the discussion on Sacramentarians, and the whole procedure in the case was discovered. The author had in the meantime died, but the original manuscript was found, and the champion of strict Lutheranism at the University of Copenhagen, Hans Poulsen Resen, the avowed enemy of Crypto-Calvinism, brought out a new and unabridged edition of "De novis hæresibus" in 1638, introduced by some explanatory remarks concerning the cause which had prompted Palladius to write on said subject.⁽²⁾ It was undoubtedly a source of satisfaction to the Lutheran protagonists in Denmark, a century after the Reformation, to find that even Sacramentarians were judged heretics by the Primate of the Danish Reformation Church. It did, at least, less harm than when the Protestant camp had been thoroughly and definitely divided.

(1) Rörðam, Vol. I, pp. 264-265.

(2) Ibid., p. 265. An attack was launched on Melanchthon by Johann Wigand for his procedure. Noted in Harboe, op. cit., p. 101.

E. Macchabæus openly champions Calvinistic Views on the Communion.

1. A Colloquy wanted in Bremen, but its effects feared by the King.

The Tabella de cæna Domini was intended to be an authoritative dogmatic statement not

only to test the orthodoxy of the Copenhagen professors, but to settle what was the view on the Communion in the Danish dominions. It was sent on to Wittenberg with the request that the theologians there should consider it, but the messengers of the Danish King returned without a reply. Christian III wrote then on May 5, 1557, to Melanchthon, urging him to forward a consideration of the Tabella, as he hoped thereby to settle the issue raised by Hardenberg in the Church at Bremen⁽¹⁾. The council of the city had asked the King to call a colloquy of evangelical princes and theologians to settle the Hardenberg strife. But the King decided not to do so, fearing that the controversy might increase in bitterness and spread into other cities. Delegates from Lübeck, Hamburg and Lüneburg, visiting Copenhagen to discuss the difficulties of the Church at Bremen, advised the King on the consequences which a colloquy in Bremen might have. They urged him to secure from Melanchthon a statement which expressed his approval of the Tabella, as Hardenberg

(1) Aarsberetninger fra Geh.-Arkivet, Vol. I, pp. 279-80, referred to in Rördam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 261. Melanchthon's reply of May 22, 1557, is printed in Schummacher, Gel. Män. Brieger, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 79-81.

referred to Melanchthon as his authority. Melanchthon, who in general did agree with Hardenberg, was obviously unwilling and unable in this matter to please the King. He referred to the Augsburg Confession of Faith, which contained nothing on the dogma of Ubiquity, the belief in which the pastor Johan Tiemann in Bremen in 1555 contended to be one of the main proofs of Lutheran orthodoxy, a contention which Hardenberg in turn courageously opposed.

2. The King unable to secure Melanchthon's support against Hardenberg. The King, unable to obtain a consideration of the Tabella from Melanchthon, did

for a time contemplate a colloquy in Denmark, or in Holstein, but here also Melanchthon hesitated to concede to the King's desire. He excused himself on the score, as we have already noted, that he was afraid of crossing the Baltic, as in his childhood the mathematician Hasfurt had foretold that he would suffer shipwreck on that sea. He wrote, on July 30, 1557, to his friend Mathesius: "They request of me to go to the coast of the Baltic, where the Danish King is going, and where a church Council is to be held, in which there is to be a controversy about the Lord's Supper. There is some one who is accused of having spilt some of the wine! Oh, what a pity!"⁽¹⁾.

(1) Bretschneider, Corpus Reformat, Vol. IX, p. 189, Lackmann, Hist. ordin. eccl., pp. 21-22

To Camerarius he wrote about the same time: "We have heard that the King of Denmark has come to the peninsula of Jutland. But now Mordeisen (the Chancellor of Prince August of Saxony) tells me, that the King expects his son-in-law (the Prince of Saxony) and daughter at Copenhagen. If I am to accompany them, I shall have to cross the Baltic, about which sea Hasfort 60 years ago wrote me an unpleasant prophecy. I remember, therefore, your mother's words: 'better not to grant an opportunity, if the stars threaten anything evil'. I fear, however, not so much the sea or the stars, as the strife which will arise and in time issue in great troubles"⁽¹⁾. To Heinrich von Bruchofen, the King's Chaplain, he wrote on August 6, 1557 that he would rather go to the wise and good King's pious colloquies than listen to various other sophistries, but that he obeyed the commands of his Prince and begged to be excused by the Danish King⁽²⁾.

3. Macchabæus invited
by Germans to represent
Denmark at Colloquy of
Worms, 1557.

No colloquy was held in Denmark at
this time, but shortly afterwards one
was called in Worms, where the Harden-

berg issue and other questions were to be debated. It
is an interesting fact that it was desired in Germany
that Dr. Johannes Macchabæus should represent the Danish

(1) Lackmann, op. cit., p. 22, Corpus Reform., Vol. IX,
p. 196.

(2) Palladius, De novis hæresibus, ed. Resen, 1638, Bl. K.
5 - Corpus Reformat. Vol. IX, p. 197. Cited in Rördam,
op. cit., Vol. I, p. 263.

States on this occasion, and an invitation was accordingly issued to him. Even though Peder Palladius was prevented by illness from going, an invitation should rightly have been extended to him as the Primate of the Danish Church, and he might have sent a representative. But the King was urged to send Macchabæus! Melanchthon may have exerted his influence upon his friend. On August 9, 1557, however, the King made reply to Prince August of Saxony and begged to be pardoned for the absence of the Copenhagen theologian. Macchabæus, he remarked, was not superintendent in Holstein, but a professor at the University where his service could not be spared. He was in such poor health, that a journey to Worms might cost him his life. The King hoped at the same time that the colloquy might proceed without him⁽¹⁾.

4. Macchabæus utilizes Hemmingsen's Promotion to the Doctorate to present Calvinistic views on the Communion. An international audience and a spectacular occasion.

Thus Macchabæus obtained no opportunity outside of Denmark to declare his stand with those who adhered to the Calvinistic view on the Communion, and who

advocated a conciliatory attitude and fellowship among the Protestant confessional groups. He seemed, although far from Scotland, to become a typical Protestant representative of his fatherland. But a significant and spectacular

(1) Ausländ, Registrant. 1557, Fol. 362. Cited in Rördam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 265.

opportunity arose in Copenhagen, where the celebrated theologian, only a couple of months before his death, openly championed his faith on the decisive issue of the day.

The King's daughter, his son-in-law, Prince August of Saxony, Duke Wilhelm of Brunswick, Chancellor Mordeisen of Saxony, and a group of learned men visited Copenhagen in August and September 1557. That the theological issues of the hour had been discussed between the visitors and the Statesmen and Scholars in Copenhagen is without a doubt. But, before the departure of the guests, the King desired the University, of which he was especially fond and proud, to entertain the guests with a solemn promotion to the doctorate. The candidate was none other than Niels Hemmingsen, and Macchabæus presided. So, on September 27, 1557, a great academic procession made its way from the University into the Church of Our Lady. The King, the King-Elect, Duke Frederick, Chancellor Johan Friis and all the members of the Council of State, all the distinguished foreign visitors, the professors and the students of the University, the pastors and officials of the city were in the solemn throng⁽¹⁾. The promotion proceeded with the usual ceremonies and the speeches in Latin of the promotor and promovendus. But

(1) Slangendorp, *Oratio de initiis doctrinae religionis*, etc., Bl. p. 7, Vinding, Acad. Haun., p. 10, 76.
Mentioned in Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 266.

previous to the ceremonial occasion, the more interesting public disputation had taken place at the University, where undoubtedly the visitors also were present. The disputation dealt with the question of the Communion. We do not possess the theses, which Macchabæus set up to be disputed by Hemmingsen on this occasion, but we gather from later reports that Macchabæus challenged the criticism which Palladius had made against his sentences concerning the Lord's Supper at Hemmingsen's promotion to Bachelorship of Theology in 1553, and also, that he attacked the dogma of Ubiquity in which eager Lutheran theologians found support for their view on the Communion⁽¹⁾. Macchabæus's attitude became thus well known abroad, and even Hardenberg in Bremen mentions him at this time as a man from whom he expects hearty sympathy during his theological strife⁽²⁾. Hemmingsen's promotion was a testimony to the theological cause which he pursued during his life and work. He was destined to become not only the theologian of the day in Denmark, but to secure, as such, an international reputation. He continued the Melancthon School of Theology which Macchabæus founded at the University of Copenhagen and which reigned supreme

(1) See Appendix 37 in Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. IV. Pontoppidan, Annual, Vol. III, p. 352, Ny kirkehist. Saml. Vol. IV, p. 300. I. P. Resen, De gratia universali, contra Joh. Piscatorem. Hafnia 1620, Bl. note in Rörðam op. cit., Vol. I, p. 267.

(2) Dänische Bibl. op. cit., Vol. V, p. 223, Pontopp. Ann., Vol. III, pp. 353-354. Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 267.

for the next 50 years⁽¹⁾.

F. Macchabæus dies on December 5, 1557.

1. An eventful and significant life brought to a close. Macchabæus's life was drawing to a close. His wearisome journeys and his strenuous

life had impaired his health, and we notice several cases of illness during the last ten years of his life. In spite of that we find him travelling to Kolding, to the Monastery of Om, to Nyborg, to Antvorskov and to Lund⁽²⁾, in Sweden at various times during this period.

He had led a busy life, and his last year was crowded with activity and large issues. His promotion of Hemmingsen shortly before his death marked

(1) A comparison of the definitions which Peder Palladius and Niels Hemmingsen give of the Lord's Supper proves the typical difference between strict Lutherans and the Crypto-Calvinists.

<p>Peder Palladius:</p> <p>"Credo in cæna Domini verum Christi corpus esse in et cum pane, et verum sanguinem esse in et cum vino; atque hæc simul esse signum et testimonium gratiæ erga nos et promissionis divinæ de toto Euangelio, de morte et resurrectione Christi, nos admonens et fidem nostram confirmans!".....</p> <p>From Peder Palladius's declaration in the <u>Tabella de cæna Domini</u>, Rörðam, Vol. I: page 268.</p>	<p>:</p> <p>:</p> <p>Niels Hemmingsen:</p> <p>"Cæna Domini est sacramentum nostræ per victimam Christi redemptionis ab ipso Christo institutum, in quo cum pane et vino vere et realiter exhibetur et recipitur corpus et sanguis Domini, ut sit confirmatio novi testamenti, hoc est fæderis gratiæ et remissionis peccatorum (etc.)".....</p> <p>From Hemmingsen's <u>Enchiridion</u>, Quoted in Rörðam, p. 268, note 2, Vol. I.</p>
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(2) The three professors, Macchabæus, Morsing and Hemmingsen had to visit the Cathedral Chapter of Lund in order to secure an agreement with the same about 100 Thaler, which the Chapter, according to the Foundation, was to pay to the University. An income was secured. Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 251. The documentary evidence in Ibid., p. 251 note 2.

the completion of his work, as he knew him to be his true disciple⁽¹⁾, a brilliant scholar and Protestant advocate, who was more interested in the progress of evangelical Christianity and life than in strife over dogmas. The eventful school of experience, and not merely lecture rooms, had shaped and enriched the religious views of Macchabæus. It must have crowned his day to know that Hemmingsen would take his place at the seat of learning in the Danish Church.

2. His death keenly felt at the University. Macchabæus cannot have been long ill.

We know the date of his fearless theological advocacy at Hemmingsen's promotion: September 27. He died on December 5, 1557, leaving a wife, Agnethe Matthewson and a son, Christian Macchabæus, who was only 16 years of age. His loss at the University was so keenly felt, that when it was proposed to call Hemmingsen to the Superintendency of Vendsyssel, it was declared totally impossible, as he was the only one able to carry on the theological work at the University after Macchabæus's death⁽²⁾. The students mourned him. His special gift of teaching and his pleasing personality had won their hearts. Many of the students, out of deep

(1) Hemmingsen refers later repeatedly to Macchabæus as his preceptor. Helweg, op. cit., p. 162.

(2) Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 270.

devotion and respect, retained their books with such portions as they had written down from his lectures, as treasured theological handbooks. One of his most devoted disciples, the pastor in Eidersted, Johann Pistorius, declared that never had the University of Copenhagen had, and never would it have, a teacher and disputator like Johannes Macchabæus⁽¹⁾. He was loved by King and people⁽²⁾.

3. His burial in the Cathedral of Copenhagen and his Epitaph. The King paid his respect to the learned Scotsman, who had served so long and

faithfully as a theological doctor in the Danish Reformation Church and University, by walking in the funeral procession to the grave of the celebrated divine, and by making provision for his widow.⁽³⁾ Macchabæus was honoured with burial in the Church of Our Lady, the Cathedral Church of Copenhagen, close to the altar. His son erected later, after his mother's death in 1589, an epitaph over the grave with the following inscription:⁽⁴⁾

IN IPSO & PER IPSUM

ipsius causa nascendi morimur victuri.
JOHANNES MACHABÆUS APLINAS⁽⁵⁾

ex Nobili Macalpinorum familia oriundus in
Scotia, Religionis causa in exilium actus,
hinc vicissim Pseudo-Pontificatum Romanum

(1) A collection of testimonies concerning Macchabæus may be found in Lackmann, Hist. Ordin. Eccles., pp. 128-129. Likewise one in Rörðam, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 270.
(2) Chr. III's Hist., op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 258-391.
(3) On Jan. 4, 1584, "Anne, D. Joh. Macchabæi" is granted a royal letter for food from the King's castle.-Sjæll. Reg. Vol. 12, p. 302.
(4) From Inscriptiones et Monumenta Hafniensia, p. 49, which quotes from Resenius, Petrus Johannis, Inscriptiones Hafnienseo, etc., Haffniæ An. Chr. MDLXVIII.

exegit: Cumq; annis plus minus XV. in hac Academia salutis doctrinam propagasset, & illustriss. Regis Dan. Christiani III. & omnium bonorum favorem meruisset, in cælestem Patrim translatus est Anno 1557. Decemb die 5.

Hunc Agneta Machisona ex generosa stirpe Scotorum prognata, exilii & thalami illius socia cum 86. Annos ætatis, viduitatis vere 32. innocenter & pie admodum complevisset, ad æternæ vitæ contubernium subsecuta est, Anno 1589, die Febr. 26. In ipsem futuræ Resurrectionis hoc gratissimum animi monumentum Parentibus suis dulcissimis Christianus Machabæus Alpinas F.F.

The church suffered later by fire, and the epitaph and any remains of the grave have unfortunately been lost.

G. The Immediate Course of the Reformation in Denmark.

1. The Situation at the University upon the Death of Macchabæus. Macchabæus's death and Palladius's illness made the need of theological

professors at the University of Copenhagen acute. It was, as ever, the King's desire that a German theologian might be secured. The University called the King's attention to Magister David Chytræus in Rostock, who once before had been considered. Chytræus took no side in the theological issues of the day, but he declined the offer. Next, the King issued a call to a different type of theologian, Dr. Tilemann Hesshus, who championed the strict Lutheran Doctrine. He had been a pastor and professor in Rostock, but was exiled from the city because of the severity with which he sought to make the people keep Sunday holy. The King offered him Macchabæus's

vacancy, but he accepted instead the position of Superintendent of the Dukedom of Pfalz. Then the King, through Chaplain von Bruckhofen, offered the post to a pastor from Ostfriesland, Martin Faber, known for his opposition to Calvinism and Anabaptism, but also in vain. Finally it was decided to promote the Professor of Dialectics, Magister Hans Albretsen, to be Bachelor of Theology, and Albretsen took the place of Palladius, whom he had earlier assisted. The King was still anxious also to have the vacancy of Macchabæus filled, and only three days before his death did he issue a call to Dr. Victorius Stringel of Jena, of the Synergistic School, who declined the call, and later suffered accusation and imprisonment at the hands of his eager theological colleagues at Jena for his views. Hemmingsen, however, practically continued the work of Macchabæus as head of the theological faculty. He was chosen Rector Magnificus, as representative of that department, in 1558-59.(1).

2. The Pioneers of
the Reformation pass
away, 1559-61.

The reformed church in Denmark was by this time about to lose most of its pioneering sons. The King, whose zeal for the reformation, faithfulness to the new church and personal piety, we have already noted, died on January 1, 1559 in his Castle at Kolding.

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(1) Rörðam, Vol. I, p. 383. He had already in 1550-51 as professor of Greek and repr. the philosophical faculty served as rector.

He was not quite 56 years of age, but several years of illness had *warned* him and his counsellors that he would not *have a long life*. He exhibited to the last a quiet trust in God and good cheer. It is touching to note how he took leave with this world, comforted his wife, blessed his children, called his chancellors, Johan Friis and Andreas von Burby, to his bedside and charged them to watch over the welfare of the Kingdom, to preserve all that he had done for the good of the churches, the "University, the schools, the bishops, the pastors and the poor, and to serve his son with the same fidelity as they had shown towards him⁽¹⁾. Peder Palladius, the great primate of the Church, who had suffered a paralytic stroke in 1555, was soon to follow. He was greatly moved by his King's death and sent a beautiful letter to the new King, Frederik II: "I hope," he wrote, "that the whole history of His Grace's remarkable deeds may be faithfully written by a pious and learned Christian man, who has gifts to do so; because it will not, nor can it, be left unspoken what his Grace did for the Holy Bible, the University, or religion, for Denmark and Norway and for all of us to salvation, grace and comfort, and all the other remarkable pieces of work, which His Grace did"⁽²⁾

(1) Jac. Bordingii, Orat, in obit. Christiani III (Cragii Ann. p. 431.) and Rörðam, Vol. I, p. 277.

(2) Cited in Helweg, op. cit., p. 155.

Palladius died after long sufferings on January 3, 1560, 57 years old. Jørgen Sadolin, Bishop of Funen, the co-reformer of Tavsens in Viborg, had died in 1559, 60 years of age, and Hans Tavsens died as Bishop of Ribe in 1561, 67 years of age. Niels Plade^(or, Palladius), Bishop of Skaane, who succeeded Vormorsen, died in September 1560⁽¹⁾..

3. The Hemmingsen When Hemmingsen was promoted in 1557 the period at the doctorate of theology the first chapter of University. the Danish Reformation had been written, and a new one was commenced. Hemmingsen was the devoted disciple of Macchabæus and Melanchthon, wherefore we must make note of how his system fared during the ensuing years. Niels Hemmingsen, or Nicolaus Hemmingius, was born on the island of Lolland on May 22, 1513. Twenty-four years old, in 1537 he went to Wittenberg, [a center which was eagerly sought by young theologians from many lands, and] where he won especially Melanchthon's favour. Upon his return to Copenhagen, he was appointed lecturer in Greek and Hebrew and, in 1547, pastor of the Church of the Holy Ghost. His friends urged him into theological work in order to hear from him that which "came out warm from the oven of Melanchthon".

Frederick II's aim was, as he promised upon ascending the throne, to maintain the Reformation, as it had been established by his father. But Hemmingsen had

(1) Helweg, op. cit., p. 155.

also his ideas along which to shape the life and doctrine of the Church. The original reformers were gone. Their fight against Roman Catholicism had been won, and a new situation had arisen in the Danish Church. The reformers, and especially Palladius, were wont to speak in fighting mood and tones of assurance about "this bright and light day of the Gospel" from which all darkness of papistry had to flee. Since then circumstances had changed. The problem had become to preserve unity in the reformed Church and to find common ground on which to build everywhere. The Reformation had had to struggle for the cause of truth. Now groups struggled for the sake of words. But Hemmingsen was the leader for the time. He pointed to the three Articles of Faith, the Apostolic Symbol, as "the christian warrior's symbol - and he who confesses this with heart, tongue and life is in the household of God". He continued: "We find in the writings of our fathers many opinions of strife, with a great difference in ceremonies, but so long as the foundation is not shaken, everything is well. Wherefore, if we are to judge the branches of the church, one must not judge them according to smoke and straw, but according to the foundation itself"(1). The holy catholic church was one of the cardinal points in Hemmingsen's faith. "I subject myself willingly to the judgement of the holy

(1) Nic. Hemmingius. *Syntagma*, 1574, *Opuscula*, p. 786 sq., Helweg, p. 161.

catholic church", he writes, "and this church I consider to be all those, who hold unto the Augsburg Confession and the unchanged Symbols, wheresoe~~ver~~ found; I condemn no one, because he deviates from me (in matters of faith), so long as he does not shake the foundation, which is the symbols";⁽¹⁾ - wherefore he always admonished to unity.

It is obvious, however, that his advocacy of agreement had its source in disagreement with the strict Lutheran School, dating from soon after Luther's death. Although he did not agree with Calvin on questions of grace and predestination and not altogether on that of the Communion, and although he even sought to speak the language of Lutherans on the latter issue, he did not give up the view of Melanchthon and Macchabæus which tended more to Calvinism than to Lutheranism. But his interest lay in practical matters, the life of the church, and particularly a reformation of the morals of the people - the fruits of the Gospel. "That servant of God who teaches rightly, but lives unrighteously, tears down with his left hand, what he builds with his right hand."⁽²⁾ Therefore he advocated the discipline of the church in cases of immoral and unjust living.

Theologically Hemmingsen had no superior, nor even an equal, in Denmark. Nor was there anyone who could effectively oppose him. The fact was that

(1) Nic. Hemmingius, *Commentaria. Epist. ad Ephesios*, 1564, quoted in Helweg, op. cit., pp. 161-162.

(2) Hemmingius, *Cathechismi Quæstionis*, 1561. Preface, Helweg, op. cit., 167.

Macchabæus and he had for long trained most of the contemporary evangelical theologians and pastors in Denmark, who accordingly in a large number belonged to the same school of thought. Hans Albertsen, his colleague in the theological faculty, was appointed Superintendent of Zealand in succession to Palladius. Both he and the new bishops of Ribe, Fynen and Skaane, who succeeded to pioneer reformers, were friends of Hemmingsen and trained for the most part under him. The successor of Albertsen was also of Hemmingsen's school.

It was, however, a period which emphasized uniformity in the church, not only in matters of doctrine, but also in worship. Palladius's Altarbook of 1556 was to be observed as a law for the order of the church service, and "the pastors are not to change anything in ceremonies according to their own heads." The service of the Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen was to be the model for the churches throughout the land. It was ordered, in 1573, that the Danish Bible, the new hymnal, the Ordinance, (constitution), the Manual (Altarbook) and Niels Jespersen's Gradual, or Choralbook, be fastened to the chair of the assisting deacon in the churches⁽¹⁾.

(1) Kirkehist. Saml. Vol. I, pp. 137-143, in Helweg, op. cit., p. 785.

Twenty-five articles for foreigners were set up to insure confessional unity in the Danish Church⁽¹⁾.

Anyone who wished to make a stay in the Kingdom had to be examined in the said articles of faith and order which were framed against the Papists, the Anabaptists, Zwingli's disciples, and such other confessions as dissented from the Danish state church. The University was granted a monopoly of the training of ministers, and the testimony of the theological professors, rather than practical experience under the supervision of the bishops, opened the doors to service in the Church⁽²⁾. Nearly all of the monasteries were dissolved.

4. The trial and dismissal of Hemmingsen. In spite of all these demands for uniformity, the theological school of Melancthon, Macchabæus and Hemmingsen flourished at the seat of learning in the Danish Church. One may consider it fortunate that in this period of inner upbuilding in the reformed church, Crypto-Calvinism and its broad and liberal spirit reigned supreme. Macchabæus's service in Denmark had not been in vain. But adherents of rigid Lutheran orthodoxy could not be blinded and they were behind the scenes - outside of Denmark - preparing war on the

(1) Sjæll. Synod. Mond. ad 1618, Kall. Sml. 4, 490, referred to in Helweg, op. cit., p. 185.

(2) Helweg, pp. 186-188.

school of Phillipus. A treatise on the life and work of Macchabæus in Denmark demands that we briefly note how the views which he championed fared in the land which he served.

The new King, Frederick II, was pledged by hand and heart to be true to the Reformation of his father. But he was no theologian and did not see that the situation in Germany, whose churches and confession were the model for Denmark, in the meantime had changed. Christian III always advised not to have anything to do with dissenters from, and critics of, the existing faith and order, at the most only to make a public testimony of the doctrine once for all agreed upon. This principle worked well so long as it was Calvinistic theologians and pastors who demanded colloquies and disputations on matters of faith. Now, however, the critics were the adherents of strict Lutheran orthodoxy, the theologians of Tübingen taking the lead. This the new King did not see, so that he, by his resolve to maintain things as they were, really became the spokesman of the Melancthonian theologians in Denmark who obviously agreed with him in his principle, which banished orthodox protagonists and served for the peace of Crypto-Calvinism! (1)

(1) Helweg, op. cit., p. 195.

Even the chancellor of the University of Tübingen, Jacob Andreæ, made a prolonged visit to Denmark in the interests of strict Lutheranism, but in vain! The Universities of Wittenberg, where Melanchthon presided, of Leipzig, where Alesius had left his influence, and of Copenhagen, where Hemmingsen had followed the footprints of Macchabæus, wished good-will between Lutheranism and Calvinism against the contrary efforts of those of Tübingen and Jena. Prince Augustus of Saxony finally discovered the quiet work which had gone on in his land to establish Calvinism when in 1574 Exegesis perspicua controversia de coena Domini, openly expressing the Calvinistic view, was published by a professor from Wittenberg; and he rooted out mercilessly the pastors and professors who, he felt, had betrayed him, and arranged a public celebration of gratitude for deliverance from the Calvinistic heresy.

Hemmingsen had, however, already in January of the same year, published his main theological work, Syntagma institutionum Christianarum, in which he taught that, respecting the Lord's Supper, "Christ is here present not in regard to place, because if we ask for the place, then the body of Christ is confined to Heaven, but in regard to the faith of the receiver, who rightly employs Christ's holy Supper"(1). The younger preachers and theologians

(1) Hemmingius, N., Syntagma, p. 243, quoted in Helweg, op.citl, p. 200.

and even the King's Chaplain, Anders Vedel, and the bishops, whom we have already referred to, agreed with Hemmingsen. In order to prove his orthodoxy, and to prevent any opposition, Hemmingsen some time later wrote a tract in which he claimed agreement with the Augsburg Confession. He cited, however, not from the original Confession, but from the one which Melanchthon had revised, to which Calvinistic theologians generally referred. His Saxon opponents had faithfully kept watch. This was their opportunity to attack him. They caused their Prince, Augustus of Saxony to write the Danish King, complaining that the Calvinistic pastors and theologians, who had been deprived of their positions in Saxony, ever referred to Hemmingsen and the University of Copenhagen to justify their views. This caused the first official church examination into the views of Hemmingsen on the Lord's Supper.

By royal command the solemn occasion took place on June 5, 1575. The Superintendent of Zealand, Poul Madsen and all the professors and pastors of the city, were present when the representative of the King, Peder Oxe, with the Chancellor, Niels Kaas, and a member of the Council of State, Jørgen Rosencrans ordered the theologians to give an account of their teaching regarding the Lord's Supper. Peder Oxe spoke thus: "Ye Danish men!

My gracious Lord and King has commanded Chancellor Niels Kaas, Jörgen Rosenkrands and myself to make known unto you His Grace's mandate and will - - that His Majesty in these days has been written unto by the Prince of Saxony to the effect that the theologians whom he has arrested base their stand on that of this university and on these churches, declaring that what is written and taught here about the Sacrament is like what they teach, and for further testimony the Prince has sent to His Royal Majesty a book of Dr. Niels Hemmingsen, de coena Domini, which is written contrary to the Augsburg Confession. This is especially displeasing to His Majesty, wherefore His Grace has commanded us to tell you, that theologians and learned men here in Copenhagen are to write and teach de coena Domini simpliter juxta Aug. Conf., if my Lord is not to punish you by death (lit: on your lives) - and you, Dr. Niels, are commanded by my Lord, to revoke the article de coena Domini! whereunto your reply is demanded". Hemmingsen replied: "There is one proposition, which offends them in my book, which I shall be willing to cancel, but I can write nothing else in its place. Germany is large, and there are many princes; each one of them has his theologians, and they try to please their princes. The King of Denmark is monarch in his realm; to him we must make an answer. Many confessiones in Germania are published, and one against the other about every fourteen days; that

we should subscribe to them is unheard of. My book has caused no rebellion yet; I thank God and His Royal Majesty that here is unity in church and schools about one doctrine as the other". "Then, Dr. Niels, I understand," said Jörgen Rosenkrands, "that the other theologians, who appear here, are just as good as you, as you claim that here is unity." "I say nothing about the confessions of others", said Hemmingsen, "but since my book was published, nothing has been taught differently than before." "Then I hear", replied Rosenkrands, "that you teach in the schools contrary to what is being preached". "What the pastors teach is not my business", was the reply, "I have not taught differently in the last 33 years, I have in the past disputed here in the University, and when I became doctor Macchabæus employed the same argument. I have learned it from Philip Melanchthon and others, who are more learned than those who now oppose it." Eventually Peder Oxe concluded the assembly assuring the professors that they should suffer no harm, but counselled them in the future to remain true to the Word of God and the Augsburg Confession.⁽¹⁾

The University of Copenhagen had rejected accusations of heretical teachings. Hemmingsen's Syntagma, however, was a testimony to the contrary. The Saxon theologians and prince were not satisfied until

(1) Resen, Frederick II's Krönike, pp. 287-289. On the basis of MS in Royal Libr. Gl. Kongl. Saml. 4, 1446. Cited in Helweg, op. cit., pp. 203-204.

the declaration regarding the Lord's Supper herein had been recalled. Frederick II wrote accordingly to the faculty of the University of Copenhagen, on February 13, 1576, as follows: (1) "We have again been reminded by the great princes abroad, how our shurches and schools are under suspicion, that the holy sacrament of the altar is being taught differently from in our dear father's days. We beg and desire that you immediately ask Dr. Niels Hemmingsen to appear before you and demand of him to recall in meliori forma, and explain himself on that which offends". . A ~~strict~~ recantation had been drawn up which left no point in doubt. Hemmingsen had the choice of a public humiliation or the displeasure of the King. He signed the document, handed it over and said: "My Lords, here is what I have written, do with it as you please. I hold nothing else." (2) The King was satisfied and stopped any further inquisition against Calvinism.

But the Saxon theological warriors were restless until they had secured judgment on Hemmingsen, who still remained a theological doctor at the University. They proved that one of his later publications reasserted the views which he had recanted. The Prince of Saxony

(1) Kirkehist. Saml. op. cit., Vol. I, p. 244.

(2) Pontopp. Ann., Vol. III, p. 454. Treschow's Jubellærere, pp. 133-134. Helweg, op. cit., p. 218.

wrote again in August 1579, to the Danish King, who this time made short work with the case and without any further examination discharged Hemmingsen from the University⁽¹⁾. He went to Roskilde where he spent his time writing, and a document which was published after his death proved him a true Calvinist⁽²⁾. He died on May 23, 1600.

5. The fate of Crypto-Calvinism in Denmark. Its significant contribution for three quarters of a century.

Crypto-Calvinism continued its course, however, in the Danish Church and University. Hemmingsen's successor

was of the same school, as was the Bishop of Zealand and the King's Chaplain. It was the influence of Hemmingsen as a person, not his faith, which was feared. The King's counsellors were still Crypto-Calvinists, and when, in 1580, the Opus-Concordiæ was sent to him from the strict Lutheran princes and theologians of Germany, he deliberated a few days until one night when he suddenly arose from his bed, bade the servant make a fire, whereupon he threw the costly bound volume into the flames⁽³⁾, saying that "he had caught a devil whom he wanted to burn"! The next day, on July 24, he issued a royal proclamation which forbade under any circumstances the reading of the Opus-Concordiæ in Denmark; disobedience would be punished "by death (lit: on life) without grace".⁽⁴⁾.

(1) Helweg, op. cit., pp. 210-211.

(2) Ibid., p. 247.

(3) Resen, Frederick II's Krönike: p. 328.

(4) Pontopp. Ann. Vol. III, p. 481. Based on MS in Royal Libr. Ny. Kgl. Saml. 4, 1128. From Helweg, op. cit., pp. 216-17.

It was well for the Danish Church that the counsellors of the King were Crypto-Calvinists, true to their liberality of outlook, to their desire for inter-confessional protestant fellowship and to concerted action against Papistical aggressiveness. It enjoyed, thereby, in its second generation of reform a measure of peace and inner upbuilding which was hardly to be found in any other land. Henry of Navarre sought therefore for a long time to have Frederick II join a union of all protestant princes against the common enemy, Roman Catholicism; but this the Danish King, was unwilling to do. Nevertheless, in 1580, he begged Henry III to spare the French Huguenots⁽¹⁾.

6. At the Jub-
ilæus Christianus -
Lutherus trium-
phans.

Frederick II died on April 4, 1588, and was succeeded on the throne by Christian IV.

A friendly intercourse had of late taken place between Denmark and England, the like of which was also made particularly effective with Scotland when James VI, heir to the English throne, married an older sister of the Danish King. The wedding was celebrated in Oslo in 1590, but in 1591 the young Scottish King and his Danish bride visited Copenhagen, where King James had a long talk with Hemmingsen in Roskilde on religious subjects, especially on predestination, and gave the aged

(1) Helweg, pp. 219-222.

scholar and theologian a silver vase as a remembrance⁽¹⁾.

It was, however, not the English, nor the Scottish, Church but the German, that shaped the course of the confessional *history* and development in Denmark. Hans Poulsen Resen, an uncompromising advocate of Lutheran Orthodoxy, succeeded in becoming Professor in Theology at the University in 1597. He made open war on professors, bishops and pastors in Denmark who adhered to Calvinism, Zwinglianism and Anabaptism. Pontoppidan has aptly said that the manner of attack against these men cannot be termed "amor orthodoxiæ, but orthodoxomania"! ⁽²⁾ Resen accused, disputed with, and tried the opponents of his strict views, and many fell as victims of his ruthless policy. Here appeared a strong, zealous and strict Lutheran protagonist who with the backing of the confessional groups elsewhere overran liberal Phillipism. He attained, through Royal appointment, the Bishopric of Zealand on April 29, 1615, and when, in 1617, the festival to commemorate the centenary of the Protestant Reformation was arranged, Resen published a letter asking the pastors "on All Saints' Day - to make expression of gratitude - for the gracious and wonderful preservation of the pure and unfalsified Word of God through a whole century."⁽³⁾ That the evangelical Lutheran church had finally been enthroned in Denmark, the two programmes of Resen's for the celebration of Luther's

(1) Helweg, op. cit., p. 240. Petersen, N.M., Bidrag til Den danske Literaturs Historie, København, 1868, pp. 74-75.

(2) Cited in Ibid., ~~op. cit.~~, p. 294, from Pontopp. Ann., Vol. III, pp. 601-608.

(3) Ibid., p. 308.

epochal work 100 years before suggest in a striking manner. They were a song of victory over Crypto-Calvinism⁽¹⁾. Their titles were: Jubilæus Christianus and Lutherus triumphans.

(1) Ibid., p. 308.

CHAPTER VIII.

MACCHABÆUS'S FAMILY, WRITINGS AND PLACE IN THE DANISH REFORMATION.

A. Macchabæus's Family:

1. Wife: Agnete The funeral oration for Dr. Macchabæus's
Matthewson of
Sutherland. wife at the University of Copenhagen is
our only source of information concerning her life
and character. She was born in Scotland in 1503. Her
contemporaries in Denmark claim her of noble birth.
That may have been so; it is more probable, however,
as we have mentioned earlier in this treatise, that
her family name was Mathe^uson and that she came from
Sutherland in Scotland.

Whether Johannes Macchabæus knew his wife
while in Scotland, we do not know. It was here that
also she became one of the early adherents of the
evangelical movement. "She discerned the errors of the
pontifical religion", chose exile and went into England,
probably in 1534-35, 31-32 years of age. ~~Here~~ she was
married to Macchabæus; and forced by Henry VIII's
lashing "whip of six strings", one of which forbade
clergy to marry, they sought refuge in Germany and went
to Cologne in 1539.

While at Wittenberg, in 1541, a son was born
to them. They were no longer young, wherefore it must
have been exceedingly welcome [to them] to be called to a

professor's chair at the University of Copenhagen, a place where both of them freely might engage in the work of the cause for which they risked their lives and had left their native land.

Mrs. Macchabæus was renowned for her piety. The influence of that devout Scottish woman left its mark upon the students who boarded at her home. She was hospitable, upright and of noble character, a diligent reader of the Bible, and she faithfully attended the services of the church.

Macchabæus was only in the latter fifties when he died. His son was at this time just sixteen years of age, while Mrs. Macchabæus was 54. She received, undoubtedly, during her widowhood, a definite annual stipend from the funds of the University. Mrs. Macchabæus must have remained in intimate contact with the life of the University. When only 24 years old, and eight years after his father's death, her son became Professor Pædagogicus. Although he remained in this position only two years, his mother continued in her close fellowship with the professors and students. Her home remained, probably, open for students as long as she was able to care for them. It was perhaps '7 at this time, when that was no longer possible, she was granted a Royal letter, on January 12, 1584, for food from the King's castle⁽¹⁾.

(1) See p. 290, Note 3.

Mrs. Macchabæus died on January 25, 1589, at the age of 86. So beloved and esteemed was she that, although it were 32 years since her celebrated husband had died and another generation had taken the lead in University and Church, the University of Copenhagen arranged her funeral, conducted the memorial service in her honor, and Rector Magnificus Johannes Aurifaber wrote the oration which has been left to us. She was buried on February 5, 1589. We have translated from the original Latin version the funeral oration for Mrs. Macchabæus, as follows:

The Oration at the Memorial Service
for

Mrs. Dr. Johannes Macchabæus
at the University of Copenhagen on February 4, 1589.

The ocean of human affairs is disturbed by calamities, full of squalls and tempests, the harbours are scarce and hardly accessible to men, rocks innumerable are on every side, among which the voyage of life is difficult, and to steer straight is hard. However subtle the sailor might be, he whom the wind brought speedily to harbour is certainly to be considered fortunate. But he, who is tossed about for a longer time and more dangerously, welcomes the land with greater gladness, so those who have a speedy removal from this life ought to be declared fortunate. Nevertheless, to those who endured the longer toils of this fleeting life and wanderings in a foreign land, the desired rest in the heavenly fatherland comes all the more welcome. Experience is a witness to this.

This is what the noble and honourable lady Agnes Sutherland, or Matheson, proved lately by her example, she who experienced the varying vicissitudes of fortune in well nigh 86 years, and departed out of this vale of tears at the call of God on the 25th of January to the heavenly fellowship of blessed souls. For though she had sprung by her parents from the highest nobility of Scotland, she enhanced the splendor of her birth by her practice of true piety from earliest years,

and she had discerned the three errors of the pontifical religion. Yet she was compelled to chose exile rather than her pious attachment to her dear fatherland, and to go into England. There she was joined in marriage to Johannes Macchabæus Alpinatus, a man sprung from the noble and ancient family of MacAlpin in the Kingdom of Scotland, a brilliant theologian and an exile in the same place on account of his religion. It is true that for a long time the pontifical rule permitted the joy of marriage too little, for when England reſapsed anew to her early idolatrous worship the (two) refugees (literally: outlaws) withdrew into Germany, and after various exhausting and wearisome journeys they found rest at Wittenberg and were joined by happy and intimate friendships with Luther and Philip (Melanchthon) and other good men of cherished memory, whence in the year 1542 Johannes Macchabæus was called by King Christian III and appointed Professor of Theology, and he presided over that work with high honour for more than 15 years, to the end of which time he stood out in especial favour with the King's Majesty. Besides, his wife bore herself as worthy of so great a husband, never omitting the practice of piety and diligence and urging in every way the members of her family to walk in the paths of honesty, a fact to which **these** present whether of noble birth or not are witnesses, and **those** who have enjoyed the hospitality of her table or her home declare that they have received a great deal of their education in piety from her.

But after she had lost her husband in 1557 A.D. she passed 32 whole years of her sad widowhood in such a way as to prove herself an example and mirror of piety, purity, and diligence and character to all women. And she certainly allowed no time to pass without either devoting herself to reading of the Scriptures and engaging in prayer, or being present at public worship, and devoting herself to useful work needing to be done (as she was obviously hostile to idleness). But she has no need at all of our praise - - - - - following to the purity of her life and the irreproachableness of her character and concerning which her memory shrinks from lying. Happy (though weak, perhaps) is the old age, which finds joy in the youth that has passed and is refreshed by the happy memories of bygone years. So blessed is death which brings to a close a habit of heavenly life on earth and commences the actual possession

of it.

It is fitting that all lovers of piety and uprightness of character, chiefly men of our order, should be grateful for this happiness to this honoured lady and should seek after her virtues of happy memory in every way. For also due to the blameless life of this widowed lady who has passed away and to the excellent recognition of this school and this republican Denmark, to her husband who predeceased her some-time previously, to her son, whom she left after her in deep distress, we order all and sundry who acknowledge that they are under our rule, that they try to show forth the disposition of such a person, her resolute attention to duty, to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock, when her funeral will take place. Farwell Students. P.P. Febr. 4, 1589 A.D. (1)

Given under our official seal,

Johannes Aurifaber,
Rector Academiæ Hafniensis, Lectori S.

(1) The original Latin version may be found in Joh. Pistorius's Brevbog, Gl. Kgl. Saml., Nr. 3078, 4. Cf. Rörðam, Københavns Universitets Historie, Vol. IV, p. 359, Nr. 261, in Latin.

2. Son: Christian Johannes Macchabæus's son, Christian,
Alpinasus Macchabæus. was born in Wittenberg on December 25,

1541; (1) he was thus less than one year old when his parents took up their residence and work at the University of Copenhagen. Destined to academic study he received a thorough training in his home, and at the early age of hardly 13 years, on December 3, 1554, he was matriculated at the University. But in less than a year he terminated his studies there. His parents sent him to Wittenberg to study under his father's dear friend, Phillip Melanchthon; where he was matriculated on July 23, 1555. One of his father's students, who probably had stayed at the Macchabæus home in Copenhagen, Johannes Pistorius from Husum, was in Wittenberg at the same time, and it is to be supposed that he assisted the young Macchabæus. Christian, like his father, became a devoted student and disciple of Melanchthon, whose erudition and piety he ever praised (2).

When his father died, in 1557, Christian Macchabæus returned to Copenhagen. Here he continued his studies. The new King, Frederik II, granted him, on July 14, 1559, the sum of 40 Thaler in memory of the great service of Dr. Macchabæus; in the same year, 18 years old, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts (3). Hemmingsen was his ideal of a teacher, and he became a loyal disciple of him -

(1) This biographical sketch is based on: Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 584-591. Ehrencron-Müller, Forfatter Lexikon, H. Aschehoug and Comp., Dansk Forlag, København 1927, Vol. V., pp. 268-269, and Lexicon over Adelige Familier i Danmark, Norge og Hertugdømmerne, Vol. II, p.5.
(2) Magn. Matthiæ, Series Regum Daniæ, Msc., Vinding: Acad.

1258 Hemmingsen had been of his father. Besides studying, he worked for the Governor of the Castle of Copenhagen, Herluf Trolle, copying historical documents. Herluf Trolle paid him liberally for his services. He and his wife, Birgitte Gøye, took a great deal of interest in young students of promise and supported them through their academic careers. Christian Macchabæus, was, undoubtedly, an object of their favour, and he esteemed them highly all through life⁽¹⁾.

When he was through with his work for the B.A. degree he set out, according to the custom of the day, to visit foreign countries. We do not know exactly everywhere he went. He had been granted a stipend of 100 Thaler from the money which came in from the sale of the Bible⁽²⁾, which his father had helped to distribute. His sojourns, however, retraced some of his father's travels and took him to England, where he on July 6, 1563, at Cambridge University received the degree of Master of Arts⁽³⁾.

In the spring of 1565 Christian Macchabæus secured appointment as Professor Pædagogicus at the

Note continued from p. 314.: Hæfn., pp. 125-126. Ny Kirkehist. Saml., Vol. I, p. 472, Tillæg Nr. 308. From Rördam, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 584-585.

(3) Ny Kirkehist. Saml., Vol. V, p. 413.

(1) Becker, Herluf Trolle og Birgitte Gøye, p. 28; Macchabæus, Chr., Oratio funebr. Herl. Trolle, 1586. Notes in Rördam.

(2) Ny Kirkehist. Saml., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 125.

(3) The Accounts of the Univ. of Cop. in the Archives of Konsistorium. Rördam, op. cit., Note 7.

University of Copenhagen. All that we learn of him from this period is that he, in 1566, ~~delivered~~ the funeral oration for his patron, Herluf Trolle. His work at the university terminated after only two years. We fail to know the reason for this. The professors allowed him a sum of money beside that of his salary. Birgitte Gøye seems to have paid his boarding bill, when yet he was a professor, in the home of Niels Hemmingsen, as she also afterwards supported him⁽¹⁾. Next he secured a position as instructor in the Monastery School at Sorö, where he, in 1570, was granted some further stipend from the Royal tithes of the nearby parishes. He seems to have had close connection with the Danish Court, perhaps primarily through the influence of Herluf Trolle and Birgitte Gøye and because of the favour in which his parents were held by the former King and Queen. In 1571 he participated, probably as linguist and orator, in a Danish government deputation to Russia. It was dangerous to travel in Russia at that time, and in a letter to Birgitte Gøye, written on November 1571 from Sorö, he tells that while he was over there the Tartars burned

(1) Fru Birgitte Bøye's Regnskabsbog for 1567, Kgl. Bibl. Saml. til Adelige Hist., Fasc. 22, Ibid.

(2) in Kgl. Bibl. Saml. til Adelige Hist., Fasc. 22, Ibid.

Moscow, and 150.000 (1) of its inhabitants suffered death.

"I was fortunately in Novgorod at the time", he said, "had I, as I desired, arrived in Moscow I should have stayed there. But the Lord turns all things to the best for us"(1).

Christian Macchabæus was employed on other foreign embassies. Some time later he was sent on a second tour to Russia, and it was probably also he who in 1574 visited Scotland(2). In 1573 he married a Danish lady of noble birth, Christine Gagge, daughter of Erik Andersen Gagge and Margrethe Rud. For his service to the Crown he was rewarded with a canonry and, in 1575, a vicarage in Lund; and on May 1, 1580, he was naturalized and knighted by Frederik II. The Macchabæus coat-of-arms presents on silver background ~~a savage man, or supposedly~~ an archer with Scottish Highland kilts, with bow and arrow and with two golden arrows crossed over his head with their points downwards(3). He bought, about this time, the estate Bispbo on the island of Fynen. On December 8, 1583, he was called to be abbot of the monastery in Ringsted, where he, the following year, arranged the festivities in which the people swore allegiance to Prince Christian, King-Elect Christian IV. In 1585 he was also collated to the archdeanery of the Cathedral Chapter in Lund(4).

(1) Letter in Kgl. Bibl. Saml. til Adel. Hist., op.cit., Fasc. 22.

(2) See p. 112, Note 1, and p. 217. If it were in Scotland that the Earl of Rothes was interviewed by a Macchabæus, it must have been by Christian Macchabæus.

(3) We have found a design and a description of the coat-of-arms and have had it drawn up accordingly. It appears in Appendix Nr.

(4) Sjæll. Registr., Nr. 12, Fol. 299, 423. Sjæll. Tegn., Vol. XV, pp. 265, 303. From Ibid., Note.

The King seems to have favoured and esteemed Christian Macchabæus, who on May 10, 1586, was appointed the first Rector, or Principal, of the newly founded Royal Sorø Academy⁽¹⁾, a school for boys of noble and of royal blood. This was a very rewarding and responsible position as it not only took in the work of the institution itself, but also the administration of the large lands connected with the school. The Royal Sorø Academy had taken over the buildings and lands of the former Sorø Monastery. Macchabæus served in this position for 11 years, during which time he exhibited a considerable interest in repairing the churches on the lands of the institution which he served. He wrote in 1596 to his friend from childhood and youth, Johannes Pistorius, that although he had experienced various circumstances in life and many troublesome journeys - he had now settled in a peaceful harbour⁽²⁾.

The new King, Christian IV, changed this. Chr. Macchabæus was discharged from his office in the Royal Sorø Academy on May 1, 1597. The King gave as his reason that he wanted to make some changes in the institution; while it is probably more true that he desired to favour his teacher, Magister Hans Michelsen, with a good living.

(1) Sorø: Klostret, Skolen, Akademiet, J. Frimodts Forlag, København 1924, Vol. I, p. 338.

(2) Letter in the original Latin, in Rørdam, op. cit., Vol. IV, Nr. 308.

At any rate, Macchabæus was succeeded in the rectorate by Michelsen.

Christian Macchabæus went to Lund where he lived on the income from his prebends⁽¹⁾. Here he died on September 10, 1598, only 56 years old. He was buried in the Cathedral Church of Lund. He had written a number of Latin orations and poems for various occasions, of which some have been preserved till the present day⁽²⁾. He has been called "a humanist and a courtier, and a little of everything"⁽³⁾. Strange it seems that the famous Scotsman and his celebrated son should find their last resting places in the two foremost Cathedrals of Denmark.

3. Descendants: Christian Macchabæus had two sons, Claus and Johannes. While still young they had been sent to Wittenberg to study, but were called back to Denmark to be present at the crowning of Christian IV. They returned again to Wittenberg, and we note from the letter of their father to Johannes Pistorius that they, in the spring of 1589, were to go to Geneva or Leyden to learn French, as their father felt that it was presently unsafe for them to go to France⁽⁴⁾.

(1) Ehrencron-Müller, op. cit., p. 269.

(2) A list of his writings is given in Rördam, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 590-591.

(3) Sorö, op. cit., p. 338.

(4) Letter, see Note 13 above.

Claus Macchabæus became supreme judge in the province of Halland⁽¹⁾, while Johannes Macchabæus took over their father's estate Bispbo on Fynen and retained the canonry of Lund. The Macchabæus family may be traced yet for a couple of generations, but it seems to disappear, as so many noble families, during the latter part of the 17th century and onwards, when the Crown secured absolute power⁽²⁾. The last male descendant of the family, of whom we have any name, was Jacob Macchabæus, a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy. Public records inform us that he, in 1684, was discharged, and that he, in 1690, had a little daughter baptized in the Holmens Kirke in Copenhagen⁽³⁾.

(1) Halland, the middle province of the three Danish provinces in Southern Sweden: Skaane, Halland and Blekinge.
(2) Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 589-590.
(3) Lexicon over Adelige Familier, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

B. Macchabæus's Writings.

When we speak about Macchabæus's Writings, we are in no way attempting to suggest, that he was a writer, or that books have been left to us from his hand. That would not be true. So far as we are able to judge from the sources available, only one book, "De vera et falsa ecclesia, Lib. I", was written by him, and it seems no longer to be in existence. We have a tract left in MS from his hand, or that of a contemporary scribe, and then primarily theses set forth to be disputed at various academic occasions at the University of Copenhagen. The value of the theses lies in the fact, that they reflect in a special way the religious topics of the time and Macchabæus's attitude towards the same. The writings of which Macchabæus is co-author with Palladius are of a more general nature. We shall in the following give a list of the few remaining literary products of Macchabæus:

1. Writings of which Macchabæus alone is the author:

- a. "DE VERA ET FALSA ECCLESIA", Lib. I. - England, ca. 1535-38.

Bale, (Script. Brytan., edit. 1557-59, Vol. II, p. 226), is the authority for accrediting Macchabæus with a tract of this title. We have been unable to find the tract itself, or any copy of it, and it may be doubted that it any longer exists at all. See pp. 63-64.

- b. "DE CONJUGIO SACERDOTUM; AN LICEAT SACRIS INITIATIS CONTRAHERE MATRIMONIUM" -. MS. probably written in Salisbury ca. 1538.

This tract was apparently never published. Whether it was a MS for a lecture to be given at some auspicious occasion, or it was intended for publication, we are unable to tell. The story of the MS is treated on pp. 64-66, and a review of its content may likewise be found on pp. 69-77.

The MS consists of 14 folio pages with ca. 50 lines on each, written in a rather careful hand in Latin. The original MS is to be found in Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge, MS. 113, Nr. 23. Photographs of the same have been deposited by Professor J. H. Baxter of St. Andrew's at the National Library, Edinburgh. The complete MS has been transcribed by the author of this treatise, found on pp. 338-364.

- c. "DE TRADITIONIBUS, CÆRIMONIIS ET RITIBUS HUMANIS IN ECCLESIA", - sequentia themata vir M. Nico. Hemmingius, S. Theol. Candidatus, pro assequendo in eadem facultate gradu. Joh. Machabæo D. T. præsidente, instantis mensis XXI publice defendet. - Copenhagen 1552.

The background for the composing of these theses has been treated on pp. 235-237. They are a contribution to the adiaphoristical issue of the day, in which Macchabæus takes the side of those who urge a still more thorough reformation of the traditions, ceremonies and rituals of the church, of such things as are of mere human origin and are without the command of Holy Scripture.

The theses were intended to be disputed at the promotion of Niels Hemmingsen to the theological degree, in 1552. The occasion for this, however, was for some reason postponed till March 7, 1553, at which time another set of theses were disputed. No information is available for us as to the month in which the theses were written, nor when they were to be disputed, only the date, the 21st, is noted on the MS, and on the last page the year 1552 appears.

- d. "THEMATA DE SACRA COENA"
- de quibus cras publice disputabitur presidente Joh.
Macchabæo, Ao. 1553. Copenhagen 1553.

These theses were set forth to be disputed at Hemmingsen's promotion to the theological degree, and it was from this occasion, on March 7, 1553, that Palladius, and probably others, found reason to doubt Macchabæus's Lutheran orthodoxy on the question of the Communion. See for further information regarding these theses, their background, significance, etc. pp. 241-243. Cited in full in the original Latin version in Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 57-60, Nr. 37. They have been translated by the author of this treatise and appear in Appendix Nr. V, pp. 365-367.

- e. "QUICQUID EX FIDE NON EST, PECCATUM EST".
Oratio in dictum pauli ad roman. XIV (23). Anno 1553,
d. 7. Martii, cum ornatissimo Viro M. Nicolao Hemmingio
gradus Baccalaurei in S. Theologia decerneretur.-
Copenhagen 1553.

This is a sermon, delivered by Macchabæus at Hemmingsen's promotion on March 7, 1553, and certainly one of the finest contributions left us. The occasion and background for the sermon is the same as for the theses on the Communion. See above, and pp. 243-44.

The original Latin version of this Sermon, or Oration, may be found in: Dänische Bibliothec, oder Sammlung von Alten und Neuen Helehrten Sachen aus Dännemark, Copenhagen 1745, Vol. VIII, pp. 257-278; and in Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. IV, Nr. 37. We have rendered it in English in full, in Appendix Nr. VI, pp. 368-375

- f. "THEMATA THEOLOGICA XII,
de quibus disputabitur publice." Hafn. 1554, Fol. pat.

This series of theses are mentioned by Rörðam (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 596), as among the writings of Macchabæus, and whose titles have come down to us. We are, however, unable to locate the MS, or a copy of it.

- g. "THEMATA THEOLOGICA XIII,
de traditionibus et cæremoniis in ecclesia". Hafn.
1556, Fol. pat.

Rördam is also the authority for the information concerning this set of theses. He found mention of it in the notes of Albert Thura, Library of the University of Copenhagen, Addit., Vol. 189, p. 4. We have not been able to find a copy of the theses.

- h. THEMATA, respondente pro gradu Doctoratus in Theologia
Mag. Nicolao Hemmingio, Prof. Hafn., die 21. Sept.
1557, 8vo.

We have earlier referred to the fact that these theses are no longer to be found, and how we have been able to conjecture some of their content (pp. 287, 276). They challenged the criticism of Macchabæus's themata of 1553 and the Tabella of 1557 and set forth points of view avowedly Calvinistic. The title is referred to in Rördam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 596, and in Wielandt, Nye Tidender, 1736, p. 305.

- i. "ENARRATIO IN DEUTERONOMIUM CONTINENS SINGULORUM CAPITUM
BREVE SUMMAM ET CONCINNAM DISPOSITIONEM." - Londini
1563. 12.

This is the title of another treatise of Macchabæus, of which we have been unable to find any copy and have reason to doubt that it at all exists. It seems to have been published in London after Macchabæus's death. Rördam refers to it in op. cit., Vol. I, p. 596.

2. Writings in the composition of which
Macchabæus has taken a part:

- a. EPISTOLAE AD CAPITULUM ROSKILDENSE,
deprivata missa, de coena Domini, et de ministerio verbi.
Copenhagen 1543.

These theological letters to the Cathedral Chapter at Roskilde were written by the theologians at the University of Copenhagen, especially Palladius and Macchabæus, dated Sept. 13, 1543, when the University decided to challenge the remaining Roman Catholic canons to disputation in order to stop their reactionary influence against the work of the Reformation. See pp. 166-169. The letters may be found in full in: Dänische Bibl. op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 123-129.

b. CENSURA HAFNIENSIS DE INTERIM. - Copenhagen 1548.

How the issue of the "Interim" was brought to Copenhagen has been fully explained on pp. 194-199. The Censura here is the Consideration, which Palladius and Macchabæus sent directly to the King, Christian III, and in which they shortly treat the issue.

This Censura is published in full in: Dänische Bibl., op. cit., Vol. VI, pp. 194-212.

c. JUDICUM DE INTERIM, THEOLOGORUM ACADEMIÆ HAFNIENSIS. Copenhagen 1548.

This is the fuller judgement on the "Interim", worked out by Palladius and Macchabæus as the official position of the Theologians at the University of Copenhagen on the issues involved. See also pp. 198-199.

The Judicum may be found in full in: Dänische Bibl., op. cit., Vol. V., pp. 76-160.

3. Topics of some of Macchabæus's series of lectures at the University of Copenhagen:

a. ANNOTATIONES IN EVANG. MATTHEI.

b. " " " MARCI

c. " " " JOHANNIS, 1542.

d. " " " EPIST. PAULI AD ROMANOS.

e. " " " LOCOS COMMUNES PHILIPPI MELANTHONIS.^{CH}

None of these lectures have been published. The titles of the series of lectures have been discovered from contemporary MSS, letters of some of Macchabæus's students, etc. (Rörðam, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 596-597.) But they are indicative of Macchabæus's primary work as a theological professor.

C. Macchabæus's Place in the Danish Reformation: A Summary:

There are certain facts to be remembered when we attempt to give a summary and a personal estimate of Macchabæus's place in the Danish Reformation:

First, that the period in which he served in Denmark was very opportune. The Reformation had just been introduced, but the reformed church was still in its formative period. Macchabæus served during the first two decades of that most decisive time. Secondly, that his own qualifications in a special way made him a most valuable servant of the evangelical cause in Denmark. He knew intimately the Roman Catholic Church and its merits; he had been one of its trusted and sincere leaders. He had, also, become so gripped by the evangelical Gospel that he felt urged on to further its cause. There is no doubt that other and lower motives at times and places guided secular potentates and ecclesiastical representatives in their favoring of the Reformation. Macchabæus's motives were unquestionable. Outwardly it was no gain for a man who had become prior of the Dominican Monastery at Perth to become a reformer, but it gave him inner peace and satisfaction of soul. The strength of his convictions is a characteristic fact in Macchabæus's life.

Thirdly, his wide experience in the Reformation as an international movement gave him the broad attitude and the long view of a leader with authority. There were in Denmark others who, through Humanism, theologically were as liberal as Macchabæus, but none who matched him in personal experiences in the championing of the evangelical cause, in knowledge of the Reformation at large, in acquaintance with reformers in other lands and of differing views. He spoke with

the authority of personal knowledge and experience. And, fourthly, the emphases in Protestantism which he cherished and worked for, that is, the school of theology which he represented, *form* an important epoch in the history of the Danish Church; it cannot be truly treated without Macchabæus, its preceptor. The Crypto-Calvinistic school was so vital and so active that, although Macchabæus's death suddenly interrupts the narrative, its story belongs to the treatment of his life. It reigned supreme for the next fifty years. Macchabæus thus represents a theological movement in the Danish Reformation.

1. As a Professor. It is especially as a professor of theology at the University of Copenhagen that we know of Macchabæus, and it is as such that he rendered his greatest practical work. Public figures, like Palladius, Tausen, and others, rendered great services through the direct influence of their own personalities and because of their positions in the practical ministry of the church. Professor Macchabæus found the fruits of his labors in the lives of his students, and the next generation experienced *his* influence wherever his disciples went.

We are apt to view Macchabæus's life, and the lives of other great religious leaders, from the point of view of issues and controversies. True it is that from such have been derived most of our documentary material; ~~while~~ the ~~fact~~ fortunately remains that *a very small* part of Macchabæus's life was spent directly with open controversies. From such we gather a glimpse of his views and an insight into his personality, but it was his 15 years of faithful daily work at the University of Copenhagen that made its greatest contribution to the Reformation in Denmark. Other men, as we have seen, served also by instructing the new ministers of the reformed

Danish Church, but none so faithfully and so significantly as Macchabæus. As a theological doctor he was without a doubt, from the refounding of the University until Hemmingsen took over his chair, the foremost among the Copenhagen professors. He - and Hemmingsen after him - in the main trained the men who became the leaders of the reformed church in Denmark till the next century.

From all sources available we gather the most sympathetic picture of Macchabæus as a professor. Great it is to impart the knowledge of Divinity to others, greater still it is when the instructor himself embodies the championing of the cause which he serves. Macchabæus's learning and scholarship were renowned, but equally esteemed was he for his piety and consecration to the evangelical movement.

2. As a Theologian. Macchabæus became a reformer before Protestants divided themselves into the confessional groupings which issued from the Reformation.

His theology, therefore, was characteristic of that of the first decade and a half of the Reformation from Wittenberg. We have translated and printed in full in Appendix Nr. VII his oration on: "What is not of faith is sin", partly in order to present some source material on his theological emphases. From it we gather most of our comments concerning his theology.

The Holiness, the Sovereignty, the Glory and the Grace of God are keynotes in the characteristic Reformation conception, which Macchabæus ~~holds~~ ^{holds} concerning the Creator. Satan, on the other hand, is "the most dangerous enemy of God and men," the Serpent who with his "poisonous contagion" has corrupted the human race. God, however,

has revealed himself through his Son, Christ, and through "his Word and Spirit from Heaven". The Bible is the "Word of God", "the Law of God", the only authority for faith and practice; and "that, which deviates from the divine Word and is found to be in no accordance with it, cannot be in accordance with faith". Jesus Christ is "the Lord," "the Son of God", "the Mediator" through whose one and only valid sacrifice propitiation has been made for the sins of humanity (See Theses on Communion, Appendix Nr. V.). The Holy Spirit, "the Spirit from Heaven", has spoken both in the Old and the New Testaments, and works in the consciences and souls of men to reconcile them to God. It lives in the regenerate people, the believers in Christ.

The utter Depravity of Man is one of the cardinal points of Macchabæus's theology. He seems in this to be approaching Calvinism. Man is the creation of God, but he has, through the poisonous contagion of Satan, fallen in sin, wherefore man's nature is indeed corrupt. The unbeliever, the unregenerate, carnal man is basely corrupt, depraved, utterly unable to produce anything acceptable in the sight of God, neither "able, nor fit to think^{any} good thing".

Macchabæus scorns the Humanism which extolls the capabilities, the natural instincts and the virtues of man, likewise the works of man, which the old Church lauded as meritorious in the sight of God. Man, without faith, is absolutely helpless, abominable, hastening on the road to eternal loss. - The believer, however, has been born again, regenerated through the Holy Spirit. Motives, works, or virtues do not save him, only his faith in the grace of God in Jesus Christ. No external sacraments effect that regeneration, only the Holy Spirit and faith in the propitiatory work of Christ. Justification is by faith, and faith alone.

The Church consists of all believers, born again through the Holy Spirit and faith. There is a secular, civic world of regenerate and unregenerate. But the Church is not the World, but it consists of the people who are his "image and temple", "a very small part of believers and a few elect, whom God by his wonderful and ineffable grace chooses out from the doomed offscourings through his only begotten Son, to be preserved by his spirit and word from heaven". The Sacraments, as we before have noted, are signs and testimonies of heavenly and spiritual truths, without any merit in themselves, but for the nourishment of the spirits of the believers.

We find Macchabæus generally impatient with, and *without interest* in, sophistical theological issues, which place emphasis upon minor points in religion on which men may differ. He teaches the Holiness of God, the total Depravity of man, the Work of Christ for man's Salvation, Justification by Faith, and the Bible as the Law of God. He picks no public strife with other Protestants on religious issues, unless attacked. He fights Roman Catholicism, and he labors ever to advance true evangelical faith.

3. As a Churchman. We have previously pointed out that, during the time when Macchabæus was professor at the University of Copenhagen, there was no separation between the study of theology and the church. The University was the handmaiden of the Church, wherefore also the learned doctors who trained the ministry of the Church were considered, as they indeed held the place of, the ecclesiastical supreme court of the land. The theologians were present at synods and other general councils of the Church, as they also acted as near counsellors to Royalty on ecclesiastical matters.

Dr. Johannes Macchabæus was a true churchman; as professor of theology he worked as a servant of the evangelical church.

Three primary interests and objects seem to have characterized him as such: First, his absolute severance of all connections with the Roman Catholic Church, its particular dogmas and numerous usages. Any one who advocated a still more thorough reformation from Roman Catholic traditions and practices had the sympathy of Macchabæus. He was untiring in *attacking* its perversion of the Gospel of Grace and Justification by Faith alone. His outbursts in theses, sermons and prayers against the old church, its teachings, its practices and its leaders, reveal his command of a voluminous vocabulary and a *lashing* language.

Secondly, he desired, as he practiced, interconfessional fellowship within Protestantism. The Roman Catholic Church had, previously claimed and taken a monopoly *of* religion, but the Lutheran Church in Denmark, when it came into power, quickly adopted the same attitude concerning itself, which was aimed at Roman Catholics and at Protestants of other confessions. Governmental decrees against Anabaptists and Sacramentarians, and other "heretics", a designation which soon included any but Lutherans of the strict orthodox school, give evidences of the *deplorable* attitude on the part of the leaders of the Danish Church in this matter. Macchabæus resented it; he knew many of the men whom the Danish Church judged to be heretics, and he also knew that they and their churches were as truly Christian as the Danish Church. He objected to ^{*sitting in*} judgment on people ~~who~~ ^{*who*} worked positively for the evangelical cause, ^{*been brought out in*} as ~~has~~ ^{*has*} several of the controversies and cases of persons on trial *already mentioned*. The unity of evangelical Christendom was, *as* with Melanchthon, Bucer, and others, his primary concern as a churchman. It is a pity that the larger number of the Danish reformers proved so provincial in their confessional outlook; Macchabæus and his disciples' influence, however, did effect that strict confessional Lutheran orthodoxy did not gain the upper hand until three quarters of a century had ^{*passed*} for the reformed Danish church. The

service of men of broad outlook, like Macchabæus, in preventing strict uniformity from stopping the various springs of new life at a time when the church so sorely needed it, cannot be emphasized too strongly.

Thirdly, he emphasized the Bible as the basis of authority for all faith and practice in the church. Other leading churchmen in Denmark, as elsewhere, although they theoretically lauded the Word as their new and only authority, allowed and even advocated the retaining of several unscriptural practices from the old church. Macchabæus untiringly and *without regard* challenged the church and its ministry to do away with that which was contrary to Holy Writ, and to follow the commands only of the Word of God.

4. As a Reformer. Macchabæus served not only as a professor, a theologian and churchman in the Danish Reformation. His work was an embassy of good-will between his native land and that which adopted him, a fact which secular historians may well remember when they study the relationship and diplomacy between the two countries during that time. Although his own land forced him into exile, he remained a true son of Scotland, and ^{as} Scotland through other men like him rendered significant aid to the evangelical cause elsewhere, Macchabæus was her contribution to the ~~the~~ that ~~in~~ in Denmark. But Macchabæus's greatest *services* to the Reformation in Denmark was an attitude, which is impressively felt in all the positions ^{in which} we have found him and in whatever capacity he acts - the attitude of a wholehearted, true evangelical reformer. He was not just a professional ecclesiastic, but a religious pioneer, an emissary, a missionary - a Reformer. The Danish Reformation was pioneered by strong, good and great men, who had experienced the light of the Gospel and who labored ^{to} to bring in "a new and bright day of the Evangel" in Denmark. But no martyr's stake had been lit for any of them, and they had generally the secular

power on their side. With Macchabeus's coming an international pioneer of the Reformation arrived among them who had drunk of the well of new life, who had given up position, relatives, friends and fatherland, who had risked his life, and joined the ranks of the international religious revolutionaries, who at any cost had consecrated themselves to break the yoke of the old bondage and to establish anew evangelical Christendom.

One cannot study the lives of men like Macchabeus' without marvelling at the importance of the discovery in religion which they had made, and at the passion which gripped them to fight for the cause of truth. The impact of such an attitude of spirit is the dynamics of strong and aggressive Christianity and the most forceful factor in religion. Macchabeus possessed it and inspired it in others. His deepest concern may characteristically be expressed with the words with which he concluded his sermon at the promotion of his favoured and greatest student, Niels Hemmingsen, in 1553: (1)

" - that we in all and through all with all zeal of soul and all our strength and eagerness through the whole course of life may further the praise of God".

END OF PART II.

(1) Appendix No. VII.

A P P E N D I X E S
and
B I B L I O G R A P H Y

APPENDIX Nr. I.

HOW LONG WAS JOHN MacALPIN PRIOR
OF THE DOMINICAN MONASTERY AT PERTH?

John MacAlpin was prior at the Monastery four years, in 1530, 1531, 1532, 1533 and 1534. Various church historians, strangely enough, claim that he was prior only two years, from 1532-1534. Lorimer, (The Scott. Ref., op. cit., p. 51), says that J. M. A. rose to become prior of his house in 1532. Parker Lawson, (Book of Perth, p. 33), says the same, that J. M. A. was prior 1532-1534. Cowan, (The Influence of the Scottish Church in Christendom, The Baird Lectures for 1895, London 1896, Lecture III, Note VII, p. 231), and Laing, (Works of Knox, Note p. 529), hold, also, the same, the latter that J. M. A. left for England in 1535. M'Crie, (op. cit., p. 395) would have J. M. A. flee to England as early as 1532. It would appear that Milne alone has investigated the records thoroughly. Says he: "John M'Alpyn was Prior of the Dominican Monastery A. D. 1530-34, - when he openly embraced the new doctrine", (op. cit., p. XXXI.)

It is unfortunate that we do not have the direct records of Priors and Fratres at the Monastery at Perth, but the fact is that most of them were destroyed on May 11th 1559 when John Knox had preached in St. John's Church at Perth and the crowd demolished the monastic houses. The Chartulary, a good number of the Charters and the last Account Book were saved. - Fittis, (op. cit., p. 190). But the Chartulary is incomplete. Twenty-five leaves, or fifty pages, have been cut out of it. - Scott, James, ("Perth Ecclesiastical Records" (MSS. edited by), Vol. I, p. 66).

Two sources are available to settle the question of when John McAlpin was Prior at Perth, the Exchequers Rolls and the Chartulary and Papers of their (Dominicans') house, the latter edited by Milne, (op. cit.). From the Exchequers Rolls, Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum, (edited by G. P. McNeill, H. M. General Register House, Edinburgh 1897, Vol. XVI, A. D. 1529-1536, we gather the following data:)

(1) 3 Aug. 1530 - 2 Aug. 1531: A note of Discharge appears: "To Friars Preachers of Perth by receipt of Friar John M. Cappe, prior 7/6/8. - Ibid., p. 60.

(2) 7 Nov. 1533 (probably should be 1532) - 25 Aug. 1534 (probably should be 1533): "Receipts of Friar John M. Calpin, Prior of the same, 7/6/8. - Ibid., p. 358.

(3) 4 Aug. 1533 - 9 Sept. 1534: "Discharge. To Friars Preachers of Perth, by receipt of Friar John McCawpyn, Prior, 18/13/4. - Ibid., p. 369. But from 25 Aug. 1534 - 22 Aug. 1535, Friar Georg Crechton, Prior, appears for the Friars Preachers of Perth. - Ibid., p. 378.

In addition to these references in State documents, there are the following from the records of the Monastery itself (Milne. op. cit.,):

(1) In "Instrumentum Saisinæ cuiusdam bothæ dat: per Willelum Rolle, pistorens", a disposal of a booth on the south side of High Street in Perth by Will. Rollo, baker-burgess to the monastery, John MacAlpyn is mentioned as prior already Aug. 25, 1530. - Ibid., p. 149.

(2) In a "Carta Thomæ Monypenny", a feue or transfer of land, John MacAlpin is mentioned as prior Sept. 25, 1532. - Ibid., p. 114.

(3) A "Carta Alexandri Lindsay et Jonetæ Bunche eius spouse" is introduced with John MacAlpin as prior April 19, 1533. Ibid., p. 124.

(4) In a "Transcriptum Saisinæ in favorem Finlai Farrar" John MacAlpin appears as Prior on April 10, 1534. - Ibid., p. 90.

From a study of these two main sources it is evident that John MacAlpin was prior from 1530 - 1534, preceded by Vincent Litstar (1523-1528) and followed by Georg Creichtoun.

APPENDIX Nr. II.

WHY JOHN MACALPIN LEFT SCOTLAND IN 1534.

It is interesting to note that, from 1530 and onwards, James V has a definite hold on the Church in Scotland, when he makes his financial demands to it - in threatening to do towards the Papacy like Henry VIII in England. However, he had to pay for the Church's financial grants to him by allowing the Bishops to tighten the demands for action against the Lutherans. Therefore the action of 1534, the Heresy Tribunal.

From the Acts of the Lords of Council in public affairs (§), we gather some items of interest, which tell the story which leads up to the Heresy Tribunal:

"The heads of the Blackfriars and the Greyfriars were called to council in 1534, with a special eye to disorders among the brethren. Preventive measures were discussed by express command to the King, and an act of Parliament in 1535 was one of the deliberations". Ibid., p. 54 in the Introduction.

On May 8, 1534: "John Grierson, provincial of the Blackfriars, and John Bothwell, warden of the Greyfriars, each with a friar of his order, sit with the council.

"Memorandum to persuade the king's grace to extend the act of council in the most ample form for stanching and putting done of this heresy and to cause diligent inquisition be made both be spirituale and temporale for destroying of their new books made be the said Luther's sects both in Latyne, Scottis, Inglis and Flemys.

"Item to put in ilk burgh on the sea and uther gret towns of the realm judges criminal to punish sic trespassours quhair thai are found both in person and goods, and to assist to the spiritual jurisdiction for execution making upon sic persons as thai happen to be requirit. -

" - - - and my lord chancellair in name of the king's grace hes requirit the said provincial and warden to take good tent and diligence that na sermones be made be their brethren quhair throu any new opinionis opinable may be in the common people, and to advertise all their wardens and brethren thereof, quilk thai promittit to do to the weill and edification of all our soverane lordis liegis". - Ibid., pp. 422-424.

(§) Acts of the Lords of Council in public affairs, selected from the Acta Dominorum Concilii. Introductory to the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland. Edited by Robert Kerr Hannay, H. R. M. General Register House, Edinburgh 1931.

APPENDIX Nr. III.

WHEN WAS JOHN MacALPIN AT THE UNIVERSITY OF COLOGNE?

Prof. J. H. Baxter of St. Andrews states that John MacAlpin was a graduate of St. Andrews. (Records of the Scott. Church Hist. Socy., Vol. V. Part II, 1934, ("Alesius and other reformed refugees in Germany", pp. 93-102), p. 96). Although we have no definite proof of this, we must take the same position. Lorimer, on the other hand, claims that J. M. received his education at Cologne before he entered the monastery at Perth, and that he there had ample opportunity to become acquainted both with the spirit of the Hochstrattens and Pfeffercorns, "the champions of the old darkness and bigotry, in that stronghold of Rome". (Lorimer, P., Precursor of Knox, op. cit., p. 185). Lorimer's ground for this opinion is, of course, the fact already mentioned, that the register of the University of Wittenberg denotes Dr. J. M., "~~Bac~~-calaureus Theologiæ Formatus Coloniensis". This raises the question: When was Dr. Macchabæus at the University of Cologne?

(1) His name appears nowhere on the existing matriculation registers of the University of Cologne. These registers have been edited so recently as 1919 by Dr. Herman Keussen, bei Neulustheim, Munchen. (Keussen, Herman, Die Matrikel der Universität Köln, Vols., 1-3, Zweiter Bind, 1476-1559, R. Hansteins Verlag, Bonn, 1919). We have corresponded with Dr. Keussen about the fact that at the University of Wittenberg Dr. Macchabæus's name is registered as a graduate of the University of Cologne, and why Dr. Macchabæus's name does not appear at all there. Dr. Keussen does not doubt that Dr. Macchabæus had been at Cologne, but explained the absence of Dr. M's name on the register by either the fact pertaining to all universities at that time, that several names were often never entered on the registers because of lack of system in keeping records, or, more probably, that there still may be fragments of records which not yet have been found, or perhaps no longer exist.

(2) There is no indication at all that John MacAlpin before entering the monastery has been on the continent to receive a degree in theology before a degree in arts at home.

(3) As we shall see later, there is every reason to believe with Rördam (op. cit.,) who makes quite an extensive review of Dr. M's life in his history of the University of Copenhagen, that Dr. M. was at Cologne after his flight from England and before matriculating

at Wittenberg. We shall in due time come back to this.

(4) If Dr. M. had been on the continent before entering upon his work in Scotland, it would probably have gone with him as with Patrick Hamilton, that he had come home a reformer, while the fact is that his conversion to Protestantism does not take place until he has spent some years in the monastery as a novice and a regular Dominican Monk and has been a Prior for some years.

(5) From these considerations we conclude that John MacAlpin received his Arts education in Scotland, probably at St. Andrews, and his Bach. of Divinity degree at Cologne in the spring of 1540. He matriculated at Wittenberg in November the same year.

APPENDIX Nr. IV.

(Bibliotheca Collegii Corporis Christi Cantabrigiae. MS 113, Nr. 23.
Transcribed by the author of this treatise from the original MS.)

DE CONJUGIO SACERDOTUM
an liceat sacris initiatis contrahere matrimonium
(affirmatur, autore Johanne Macchabeo Scoto)

Qui questionis huius partem negativam affirmant nec unam
omnes nec semper eandem respondendi viam tenent. Atque quantum
ego quid hactenus observare potui triplici ferme differentia
atque ordine controversiæ statum variant.

Et primo prorsus negant cum sacris ut vocant ordinibus nempe
diaconatu sub presbiter(atu) episcopatu matrimonium posse con-
sistere.

Deinde cum id amplius teneri non sufficiant in formidum
locum pedem retrahunt atque ibi gradum figunt fatentes conjugium
etiam post susceptos ordines durare et consistere sed usum eius
atque ortum conjugalem non oportere postea int(i)avinire.

Postremo quum ibi quoque urgeri se sensunt in tercia castra
tamquam in arcem inexpugnabilem transfugiunt fatentes precontractum
conjugium per durara debere et insuper usum ac fructum talis con-
jugii permittentes, sed post ordinum sacrorum susceptionem mat-
rimonium contrahi aut iniri posse pernegantes.

Nos quoque illorum in respondendo versepelli mobilitati cog-
imur et nostra argumenta in totidem ordines et quasi turmas dis-
tribuere.

Ex primo quidem eas authoritates inscribemus que probent
matrimonium cum sacris ordinibus posse consistere.

In secundo eas que declarent etiam actus conubiales et chori
genialis usum ab initiatis exerceri cum suis uxoribus non esse pro-
hibitum aut illicitum.

In tercio que demonstrent post initiationem matrimonium legitimum posse contrahi ita quicquid secundo ordine allegabitur ad confirmationem tam primi quam secundi valebit.

Nec in presentia questio est quid pontificiis legibus aut ullis humanis constitutionibus est ordinatum et prescriptum sed tamen de iure divino quid liceat et quid non.

Id tametsi ex scripturarum allegationibus melius liqueret, tamen quia adversarii ad ecclesiasticorum scriptorum normam et ecclesie consuetudinem tantopere nos provocant hic tamen vetustiorum et probatissimorum authorum sententias et ecclesie adhuc a Christi sanguine calentis et apostolorum atque martyrum doctrinas spirantes consuetudinem citabimus et exequiemur, Age igitur vetustioris ecclesie sententia et consuetudo qualis fuerit ex dictis antiquissimorum ac sanctissimorum doctissimorumque virorum doceamus ut postea sacrarum scripturarum testimonia pro nobis aperte facientia proferentes equioribus auribus audiamur nec illis amplius fides habeatur qui subtilibus commentis rectam ac simplicem littere intelligentiam corrumpere et subvertere nituntur.

Scopus Primus

Quod matrimonium cum sacris ordinibus possit consistere.

Ecclesiastica Historia li 3. ca. 3

Clemens Alexandrinus scribens adversus eos, qui nuptias sperunt inter cetera etiam hoc dicit, an et apostolos improbant. Petrus etenim ac Phillipus et uxores habuerunt et filias etiam nuptum viris dederunt, sed et Paulum non cedit Apostolum in quadam epistola sua mentionem vel salutationem facere comparis sue, quam se immo negat circumducere, ut ad predicationem evangelii expeditior fiat.

Verum quum Clementis fecimus mentionem, absurdum non erit

aliam quoque eius memorabilem narrationem proferre quam in septimo libro ita inseruit. Aiunt inquit Clemens beatum Petrum quum vidisset uxorem suam duci ad passionem gavis sum esse electionis gratia ac regressionis ad propriam domum et exclamassi ad eam cum duceretur ac proprio nomine compellantem dixisse. O, conjux memento domini Talia conjugia sanctorum erant.

Ex his verbis divi Clementis liquido constat eum sensisse, quod Petrus, Paulus et Phillipus iam apostoli uxores haberent et quod non solum cum presbiteratus ordine et ^[sic] sed cum apostolatus dignitate matrimonium possit consistere.

Frustra hic adversarii succlamabunt eos ante apostolatum maritos fuisse non in apostolatu. Nam si hoc verum est frigide a Clemente fuisset dictum. An et apostolos improbant respondere quidem potuissent non se apostolos improbare: quippe cum uxores habebant nondum erant apostoli et apostoli facti mariti esse desierunt probandi igitur erant non improbandi ab iis qui nuptias spernebant ut qui et ipsi post susceptam gratiam et apostolicam functionem amplius sprevisent: Sed rem secus habere affirmat Clemens iste, et Petrum et Paulum et Phillipum apostolos a postquam apostoli erant uxores habuisse. Quod si de illorum antea apostolatum conjugii intellexisset nequaquam dixisset, talia fuisse sanctorum coniugia cum ante apostolatum sancti non essent, sed facti sunt sancti vocatione neque per Pauli comparem intellexisset illius uxorem.

Historia ecclesiastica li. 6, ca. 2.

Venerandus senex Cheremon episcopus hic erat urbis Egypti que dicitur Nilopolis cum ad arabicum montem una cum grandena coniuge discedesset nulli ultra apparuit. Ecce et Cheremon iste iam Episcopus nilopolitanus uxorem ad huc habuit et una cum uxore mortem obiit.

Historia ecclesiastica li. 8, ca. 10.

Phileas episcopus et martyr uxorem habebat et liberos et a propinquis rogabatur quum ad mortem duceretur ne in sententia persisteret sed respectum haberet uxoris et liberorum. Ergo et episcopus iste moriens uxorem habebat et liberos nec obstitit matrimonium quominus et episcopus crearetur et etiam ministerium suum martyrio confirmaret.

Historia Ecclesiastica li. 3, ca. 19.

Nicolaus unus ex illis qui cum Stephano constituti sunt diaconi uxorem habuit eamque valde puchram quam cum ab apostolis increparetur tanquam de zelotipie iniuria in medium produxit: et si quis eam vellet habere permissit. Quod quamvis ab hereticis postea, qui se Nicolaitas vocabant in malum exemplum raperetur tamen Clemens Nicolaum excusans inquit, mihi autem compertum est Nicolaum nullam prorsus agnovisse mulierem preter eam quam in matrimonium accepit.

Constat inquit, illud quod in medium apostolorum pre zelotipie suspicione produxit uxorem ex contemptu vitii vel libidinis gestum; quo per hoc continentem se ostenderet eius rei, quam nimie putabatur ex pectore.

Ex his verbis consequitur, quod licuit diaconis a primitiva diaconatus constitutione uxores habere. Iam cum scribat Clemens sibi compertum Nicholaum nullam prorsus agnovisse mulierem preter eam quam in matrimonium acceperat, palam est eum sensisse, quod ne diaconis illicitum erat proprias uxores agnoscere. Et quod Nicholaus ille uxorem suam in diaconatu cognoverit vel certe quod eam tunc sine periculo cognoscere potuisset. Ita et ad secundum scopum hoc argumentum pertinebit.

Ex Historia ecclesiastica li. 10, ca. 5

Ex tripartita li. 1, ca. 10

Spiridion Ciprius episcopus vir unus ex ordine prophetarum

pastor omnium etiam in episcopatum positus permansit: fuit iste rusticus habens uxorem et filios sed non propter ea in rebus divinis minor.

Quid hoc sibi vult quod dicit, sed non propter ea in rebus divinis minor nisi senserit matrimonium illi impedimento non fuisse quo minus et prophetie dono fulgeret, et munus episcopare administraret.

Cyprianus de singularitate clericorum. In ipso fine fo. 416.

Rogo vos quantum valeo et ultra quam valeo: hec sunt studia omnia clericorum, ut singularitatis inexcusabilis successione fungantur, ne aut ipsi per feminas aut femine per illos ad ignominiosa ludibria provocentur. Si quis habet matrem vel filiam vel sororem vel conjugem, vel cognatam sic habeat ut nulla ancilla intersit neque aliqua ingrediatur extranea: ne ad hoc videatur tenere proximas suas ut ipsarum causa libere sibi adhibeat alienas.

Notandum hic, quod ut matrem filiam, cognatam, ita et coniugem clerico suam cohabitare permittit, sic tamen ut nec ancillas domi habeat nec extraneas ingredi permittat. Que verba si altius examinentur ad secundum etiam scopum facere dinoscentur. Nam si uxorem cognoscere non licuisset, quomodo permisit ut ea cohabitaret quum alioqui tam solícite caveat, ne qua ancilla domi alatur, neve aliqua extranea domum ingrediatur unde suspicio aliqua vel sinistra fama possit exoriri. Matrem filiam vel sororem cognoscere nature iura non sumit: coniugem cognoscere et sinunt et innitant ac etiam necessitate quadam astringunt propterea a clerico nulla longius quam coniux erat removenda: si cum ea coniugi et lege matrimoniali copulari non licuisset.

Idem in epistola ultima. (lib. 4. capta. 20)

A Admonitos vos et instructos sciatis dignatione divina, ut numidius presbiter ascribatur presbiterorum numero Carthaginensium et vobiscum sedeat in clero luce clarissima confessionis illustris et virtutis et fidei honore sublimis, qui hortatu suo cognoscam martyrum numerum lapidibus et flammis necatum ante se misit.

Quique uxorem adherentem lateri suo concrematum simul cum ceteris vel conservatam magis dixerim letus aspexit. Ipse semivivus et lapidibus obrutus et pro morto derelictus dum postmodum filia sollicito pietatis obsequio cadaver patris inquit semivivus inventus et refocillatus et extractus a comitibus, quos ipse premisit, remansit invitatus.

Chrisostomus de verbis Esaie Vidi Dominum.

Homilia quarta tom. primum.

Sed cum sint qui putant per nuptias sacerdotii sanctimoniam prophanari puritatem pollui, gratiam extinguere opere pretium fuerit audire et expendere quid os illud aureum Joannes patriarcha Constantinopolitanus ea de re scripserit.

Et factum est inquit propheta in anno quo mortuus est Ozias rex, vidi dominum sedentem in throno excelso. quis hec loquitur inquit Chrisostomus. Esais ille spectator celestium seraphin, qui cum coniugio commercium habuit nec tamen extinxit gratiam.

Auscultastis prophetam et audistis prophetam hodie. Exi tu et Jasoph filius tuus. Ita ne filium habebat propheta filium habebat, habebat et uxorem, ut intelligas non esse malas nuptias sed malam esse scortationem. Sed quoties cum quibusdam de vulgo differimus dicentes, cur non recte vivis quamobrem non prestas mores absolutos: qui possum inquit, nisi diu tam ab uxore nisi vale dixero liberis: nisi valere iubeo negotia. Quamobrem,

num obstat matrimonium adiutrix data est tibi uxor, non insidiatrix. An non habebat uxorem propheta neque tamen spiritus gratie obstabat matrimonium, sed cum uxore convictum habebat et erat nihilominus propheta. Moses non ne uxorem habebat et tamen is petram dirupit, aerem mutavit, cum Deo colloquebatur, divinam iram cohibuit. Abraham non ne uxorem habebat. Et tamen pater factus est gentium et ecclesie. Sustulit eius filium Isaac. et hic illi fuit egregiorum facinorum materia: Non ne obtulit filium coniugii fructum, non ne fuit et idem amans dei. Et mox. Quid autem machabeorum mater: non uxor fuerat: Nonne septem filios addidit sanctorum choro. Nonne vidi illos martyrio coronates. Nonne astabat obtestans illorum unumquemquam et mater martyrum septies ipsa martyrium prestitit: Et mox.

Quid autem Petrus basis ecclesie: ille vehemens amator Christi ille sermone indoctus, et rethorum victor, ille imperitus qui cum philosophis obturavit os ille qui grecanicam sapientiam non aliter atque arenarum telam dissoluit qui terrarum orbem peragravit, qui sagenam misit in mare et piscatus est orbem, quid autem ait evangelium. Ingressus est Jesus ad socrum Petri fabricantem. Vero socrus ibi et uxor ibi et coniugium quid at Philippus nonne quatuor habebat filias ubi vere quatuor filie illic et uxor et matrimonium. Quid igitur Christus a virgine quidem natus est, verum ad nuptias accessit ac domum attulit. Et mox. Ne abhomineris nuptias, sed oderis scortationem meo periculo. Nam ego spondeo tibi salutem, etiam si uxorem habueris, prospice tibi ipse mulier si proba fuerit adiutrix tibi est. Quid igitur si non fuerit commoda.

Annon fuerunt uxores bone simul et male: ne haberes excusationem qualis erat illa Job: Sed Sara erat bona, ostendam tibi mulierem

et malam et improbam, neque tamen nocuit viro. Uxor Job prava erat et improba suasit illi ut blasphemi as prostiret. Quid igitur labefactavit turrim, deiecit adamantem, superavit petram: depulit militem eradicavit arborem. Nihil horum: sed illa impellebat, et arbor reddebatur stabilis hec ibi Chrisostomus in quibus sunt multa notatu dignissima, et huic questioni explicande quam maxime accomoda. Et ne quis eum de vulgo laicorum tamen locutum interpretetur, propheta fuit, et prophetarum homerus cuius exemplo utitur, quem cum conjugio commercium habuisse disserit, nec tamen exuisse gratiam. Quid illud quod addit, non esse malas nuptias, sed malam esse scortationem. At nostri concubinatum et scortationem sacerdotibus permittunt: nuptias omni modo interdiciunt. Subiungit matrimonium non obstare, quo minus quis etiam absolutos mores prestet. Sicuti propheta ille cum uxore convictum habebat et nihilominus propheta erat, neque spiritus, inquit, gratie obstabat coniugium: nec his contentus, Moses quoque et Abrahae ac Machabeorum matris exemplis matrimonii dignitatem et puritatem asserit. Et ne quis id sub veteri testamento duntaxat intelligat christiane quoque ecclesie columnas et apostolos pro matrimonii assertionem introducit Petrum ac Philippum, quos et maritos esse affirmat, mox in se periculum susceptionis contestatur et admonet, ut nuptias ne quis abhominetur sed fornicationem potius oderit, nam ego, inquit, spondeo tibi salutem, etiam si uxorem habueris. Cur hic absolute cuius spondet salutem etiam si uxorem habuerit. Ac ne sacerdotes quidem excepit, si ipsis uxorem habere nephos erat et iure divino prohibitum.

Chrisostomus

Idem affirmat beatum Philogonium episcopum uxorem habuisse et filiam.

Idem ad Titum super locum: unius uxoris virum.

Obstruere prorsus intendit (inquit) hereticorum ora, qui nuptias damnant, ostendes eam rem culpa carere immo ita pretiosam esse, ut cum ipsa etiam possit quispiam ad sanctum episcopatus solium subvchi. Quid potuit dici aptius, quam cum nuptiis posse quempiam ad episcopatus solium subvehi.

Idem in exempla ad Timotheum i ho. 10a

Si igitur qui uxorem duxit, sollicitus est que sunt mundi: episcopum at huius modi sollicitudine tangi minime convenit, quo superius dixit: unius uxoris virum. Quidam ut dixi illum, qui post uxoris obitum constitueretur episcopus, significasse intelligunt, alioqui licet eum, qui uxorem habeat, quas non habentem esse. Tunc nempe istud rite concessit pro tempore ac pro rei natura, que tunc inerat licet ad eam rem honeste ac licite capere, si quis velit. Quemadmodum enim divitie difficile in regnum celorum introducunt, sepe tamen id divites plurimi ingressi sunt ita et nuptie, licet difficultatis in se plurimum habeant, ita tamen assumi possunt ut perfectiori vite impedimento non sint, veram id plane per raro atque difficile. Et mox.

Cum enim non dixit oporteat at ipsum iam ex terra migrare humanisque rebus evadere, celsiorem verum que secularibus iussit, ea episcopo implenda non iubet. Quid enim illis ait mortificate membra vestra que sunt super terram. Et iterum, qui autem mortuus est, inserificatus est peccato, ac rursus. Qui autem sunt episcopi carnem suam crucifixerunt. Et Christus item nisi quis renunciaverit omnibus que possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus. Cur igitur hec in episcopo requirenda non dixit: Quia per paucos huiusmodi inveniri fas erat: episcopis autem plurimis tunc opus fuit, qui per singulas civitates magistri constituerentur (sic),

ne igitur ecclesie negotia fructusque perirent, idcirco moderatam virtutem proposuit inquirendam, non supremam illam atque celestem, et ne.

In eundem sensum etiam paulo superius dixerat, ne ecclesie negotia fructusque perirent. Idcirco moderatam virtutem posuit inquirendam, non summam illam atque celestem.

In his Chrisostomi verbis illud in primis est notandum, quod hanc sententiam ut alienam et non suam introducat ubi dicit: Quidam illum qui post uxoris obitum constitueretur episcopus significasse intelligunt. Deinde quasi eam non satis probans, aliam subinfert. Alioqui (inquiens) licet eum qui uxorem habebat, quasi non habentem esse tandem vero et suam luculenter proferens: licet tamen, inquit eam rem honeste ac licite capere si quis velit. Que verba si recte expendantur fortasse et ad secundum scopum aut potius tertium referri possunt. Videntur etenim non tamen coniugium, sed et eius usum aliquem exercitiumque concedere immo et presbyteris coniugia permittere et pro eo quod interpres dixit, capere, grece est (blank) quod attingere, tractareque et exercere et iam in manibus habere significat. Neque oscitantur ipse eunda est similitudo, quam adducit de divitiis, nam si vel sacerdoti atque adeo episcopo divitias habere liceat, quamvis Christus expresse dixerit pene impossibile esse ut divites intrent in regnum celorum, qui minus eidem uxorem habere licebit, quamvis Paulus dixerit eum qui uxorem duxerit sollicitum

esse circa ea que sunt mundi postremo recte admonuit Paulum moderatam et non summam atque celestem virtutem in episcopo exigere. Neque enim duxit (inquit Chrisostom) oportebit ipsum angelum esse, nulli humani perturbationi vitione subiectum et sed dixit oportet episcopum irreprehensibilem esse unius uxoris virum, que non usque adeo sunt ardua, quis talibus virtutibus, prediti facile possunt inveniri.

Ireneus adversus hereses li. 1. ca. 9.

Quedam mulieres sepiissime converse ad ecclesiam dei confesse sunt et secundum corpus exterminatas se a mago velut cupidine et inflammatas valde illum se dilexisse: Ut et diaconus quidam eorum qui sunt in Asia suscipiens eum in domum suam insiderit in huiusmodi calamitatem nam cum esset eius uxor speciosa, et sententia et corpore corrupta esset a mago isto et secuta esset eum multo tempore, post deinde cum magno labore fratres eam convertissent, omne tempus in exomologesi consumari plangens ac lamentans ob hanc quam passa est ab hoc mago corruptelam.

Ambrosius 2. Cor 2. super hunc locum

depondi vos uni viro virg.

Si, inquit, ideo putes virgines dictos, quia corpora sua intamina servaverunt, excludes ab hac gloria sanctos quia omnes apostoli, exceptis Joanne et Paulo uxores habuerunt.

Hieronimus adversus toninianum

Eliguntur mariti in sacerdotium non nego, quia non sunt tanti virgines, quanti necessarii sunt sacerdotes. Et mox.

Et quomodo, inquires frequenter in ordinatione sacerdotii, virgo negligitur et maritus assumitur ubi respondet aliquando id factum quia in ceteris virtutibus maritus et virgo non erant pares, aliquam quod erraret populus in eligendo et..... fatetur ergo et Hieronimus suo tempore aliquando maritos in episcopos fuisse assumptos, reiectis ac repulsis non unquam aliis in celibatu constitutis, qui id muneris ambiebant. Et nec illos improbat electiones, si mariti virginibus sint prestantiores.

Idem li. i. adversus eundem.

Si at Samuel nitritus in Tabernaculo duxit uxorem quid hoc ad prejudicium virginitatis. Quasi non hodie quoque presbyteri sacerdotes habeant matrimonia et apostolus describat episcopum unius uxoris virum, habentem filios cum omni castitate.

Pelagius Cathego Patricio. Dissert. 8. ca.

De syracusane urbis antistite optraueramus in ipso initio glorie vestre desideriis obedire, nisi nos multiplex ratio ipsius non paucis temporibus ordinationem differe sacerdotii coegisset. Ob hoc autem vel quod persone qualitas, sicut et vos melius noscis: Vel superstes uxor aut filii per quos ecclesiastica solet periclitari substantia nostros animos diutius ab eius ordinatione suspenderet. † Et quantum ad cautelam humanam

pertinet integro pene anno distulimus, opinantes quod in melius syracusanorum pervenire possit electio. Sed quia in voluntatis sue proposito irrevocabiliter perstiterunt, et nullus est alius in eadem repertus ecclesia nisi longioribus adhuc temporum differre spatiis, ne Paulo amplius insanivirent (sicut filii vestri magnifici pretoris testificatione diditimus) inter huiusmodi ambiguitates illud consultius iudicavimus faciendum, ut congrua providentia causam propter quam principalis constitutio habentem filios et uxorem ad episcopatus ordinem promoveri prohibet salva dispositione concilii munierimus (sic). Qua de re summo studio ab eodem Syracusane urbis episcops priusquam a nobis in episcopum contigerit ordinari huiusmodi exequus cautionem per quam et suam fateretur quantula esset presentis habita rerum descriptione, substantiam: et nihil unquam per se aut per filios aut uxorem sive quamlibet propinquam aut domesticam vel extremeam forte personam de rebus audeat usurpare ecclesie. Et universa sui episcopatus quesita tempore, ecclesie sue dominio-sociaret nihil ultra quod modo descriptum est filiis suis vel heredibus relicturus.

Ex hac Pelagii epistola satis claret nullum de iure divino impedimentum interesse quo minus coniugatus, ille episcopus ordinaretur: sed id humano tamen iure et principis constitutione fuisse prohibitum. Eius etiam constitutionis et legis ferende causam non obticuit dicens, quod per talium episcoporum uxores et filios ecclesiastica soleat periclitari substantia.

Ex canone Apostolorum

Si episcopus uxorem habet aut filios, iustum est ut moriens relinquat eis res suas proprias.

Ex concilio Martini

Si qua vidua episcopi presbiteri aut diaconi meritum acceperit nullus clericus, nulla religiosa persona cum ea commune presumat nunquam communicet, morienti tamen ei sacramenta subveniat. Que hic vidua episcopi, presbiteri vel diaconi dicitur oportet quod eiusdem, quoad vixerit et uxor fuerit.

Historia ecclestatica li. 11. ca. 9.

Gregorius vero inquit apud Naziansen oppidum in locum patris episcopus subrogatus hereticorum turbinem fideliter tulit. Et ex vita Gregorii huius operibus ipsius prefixa patet quod mater eius patri superstes fuerit, quoque eius in viduitate consitute ut bonus ac pius filius curam gesserit.

Transitio

Ex his arbitram satis constare matrimonium cum sacris ut vocant ordinibus posse consistere atque in eundem hominem simul et semel competere et concidere. Neque eas res alteram ab altera tam repugnantis et dis.... venientis esse nature ut se mutuo expellant. Quod nobis pro primo scopu probandum proposueramus. Nunc ad secundum nos convertemus ubi argumenta nostra omnia huc tanquam tela dirigemus ut coniugii usum atque ipsum concubitum aut thorum conjugalem etiam sacerdotibus immaculatum de iure divino non illicitum doceamus neque in primitiva ecclesia sanctos et deo charos

episcopos ac presbyteros a tali cum suis uxoribus consuetudine et consortio prorsum abhoruisse aut in totum penitus abstinuisse.

Scopus secundus

Quod sacerdotes coniugati in primitiva ecclesia a societate et complexu uxorum ex divino iure non cogebantur abstinere.

Ex canone Apostolorum

Episcopus aut presbyter uxorem propriam nequaquam sub obtentu religionis etc... Quid est hic uxorem abicere nisi a corporis et lecti communiore seperare. Atque immo additum est sub pretextum religionis: quod unus nonnulli eam rem et fedam et episcopali sanctimonia parum dignam aversarentur atque declinarent.

Ex concilio Gangrensi

Si quis discernit presbyterum coniugatum.. etc.. Qui tales presbyteros discernebantur et ab eorum oblationibus abstinebant an ob alius id faciebant quam quod sacerdotalem sanctimoniam usui ac consuetudine coniugali prophanari crederent.

Ex Synodo Nicena

Nicena Synodus volens corrigere hominum vitam in ecclesiis (sic) commarantium posuit leges, quas canones vocamus. In quorum tractatu videbatur aliquibus introducere legem, ut episcopus presbyteri diaconi, subdiaconi cum coniugibus quas ante consecrationem duxerunt non dormirent.

Surgens autem Paphuntius confessor contradixit, honorabiles confessus nuptias et castitatem dicens esse cum propria coniuge concubitum. Suasit itaque concilio, ne talem poneret legem: gravem esse asserens causam que aut ipsis aut eorum conjugilibus occasio fornicationis existeret. Et hoc quidem Paphuntius (licet nuptiarum esset inexpertus) exposuit Synodusque laudavit sententiam eius et nihil ex hac parte sancivit, sed hoc in unius cuiusque voluntate non necessitate permisit.

Gravis profecto sententia, et que una in contraversione huius determinatione satis debuerit esse vel propter dicentis auctoritatem, ut qui confessionis merito insignis fuerit, et ipse in tota vita nuptiarum inexpertus extiterit vel propter concilii in quo dicta sunt et cui satisfecit celebritatem et eminentiam vel denique propter causam quam allegavit pondus et vigorem ut semper ipsis aut eorum iugalibus fornicationis occasio existeret nos enim tandem post eam legem perlatam stenlis iam aliquot experti sumus evenisse quod paphuntius inde eventurum timuit, et premonuit. Ut idelicet ea lex de sacerdotum coniugio fornicationum adulteriorum et infandissimorum scelerum existeret occasio. Nec illud preterea non advertendum quod et sacerdotum nuptias honorabiles dixit. Et concubucatum cum propria uxore castitatem esse pronu(n)ciavit.

Synodus sexta

Quam in romani ordine canonis esse cognovimus traditum eos qui ordinati sunt diaconi vel presbyteri confiteri,

quod non suis iam copulentur uxeribus antiquum sequentes canonem apostolice diligentie et constitutiones sacrorum virorum legales nuptias amodo valere voluimus nullo modo cum uxoribus suis eorum coniugia dissoluentes, aut privantes eos familiaritate adinvicem in tempore opportuno. Quicumque ergo diligens inventus fuerit subdiaconali ordinatione aut diaconali aut sacerdotali, hi nullo modo prohibentur ad talem ascendere gradum pro uxoris sue cohabitatione. Nec etiam tempore ordinationis sue profiteri castitatem cogantur, que abstinere debeant a legalis uxoris familiaritate. Item oportet eos qui altari ministrat in tempore oblationis sanctorum continentis esse in omnibus ut a deo possint consequi, que suppliciter postulant. Si quis igitur presumpserit contra apostolicos canones aliquos presbyterorum et diaconorum privare a contactu et a communicatione legalis uxoris sue deponatur similiter et presbyter aut diaconus, qui religionis causa uxorem suam expellit, excommunicetur, si vero in hoc permanserit deponatur.

Hec sexte synodi sententia canonem apostolicum superius expressum asserit, elucidat et interpretatur contrariumque morem ab Episcopo Roberto subintroductum repellit et refutat. Quem tamen nos adhuc mordicus retinemus et romanam traditionem apostolice preferimus breviter quisquis volet legere hic habet totum huius questionis nodum explicatum.

Ignatius

Viri diligite uxores vestras sicut conservas in Domino ut proprium corpus sicut socias vite et cooperatrices ad filiorum procreationem. Virgines solum Christum prae oculis habete et eius patrem in animabus vestris illuminate a spiritu sancto. Memor sum sanctitatis vestre sicut helie, sicut Jesu nave, sicut Melchisidech, sicut Holisei, sicut Hieromie, sicut Joannis Baptiste, sicut dilectissimi discipuli, sicut Timothei, sicut Titii, sicut Enodii, sicut Clementis, vel eorum qui in castitate de vita exuerunt. Non detraho autem ceteris beatis, qui nuptiis copulati fuerunt, quorum nunc memini. Opto enim Deo dignus ad vestigia eorum in regno ipsius inveniri, sicut Abraham et Isaac et Jacob, sicut Joseph et Esaias et ceteri prophete sicut Petrus et Paulus et reliqui apostoli, qui nuptiis fuerunt sociati, qui non libidinis causa sed posteritatis surrogande gratia coniuges habuerunt. Non detrahere se dicit beatis, qui nuptias copulati fuerunt Quam et apostolos posteritatis subrogande gratia coniuges affirmat habuisse quod non ante apostolatam sed in ipso apostolatu factum est intelligendum Nam antea nec apostoli erant nec beati nec tanta vite sanctimonia preediti, ut non libidinis, sed posteritatis gratia coniuges haberent.

Ecclesiastica historia li. 5. ca. 34.

Septem ex parentibus meis per ordinem fuerunt episcopi

inquit Polycrates epi(scopus) Ephesinus, ego octavus.

Distinctio 56 ca. Osius Damascus hieronim

Osius papa fuit filius Stephani subdiaconi. Bonifacius papa fuit filius Jucundi presbyteri de titulo fasciole. Agapitus papa filius gordiani presbyteri. Theodorus papa filius Theodori episcopi de civitate Hierosoloma. Silverius papa filius Silidi Episcopi Rome. Deus-dedit papa filius jucundi presbyteri. Felix enim tertius natione romanus ex patre Felici presbytero fuit. Item Gelasius, natione Afer ex patre Gordiano presbytero originem duxit. Quam plures etiam alii inveniuntur qui de sacerdotibus nati apostolice sedi profuerunt.

Episcopo Valerio natus est Item Agapitus natione romanus ex patre. Quis credat tot episcoporum sacerdotum et diaconorum filios omnes antequam ipsorum patres ordines suscipissent et nullum ab ordine suscepto fuisse procreatos maxime cum in una familia septem continua successionem futuri episcopi nascerentur, sed ut omnis scrupulus exiatur audiamus quid sequitur.

Cum ergo ex sacerdotibus nati in summos pontifices legantur esse promoti non sunt intelligendi de fornicatione sed de legitimis coniugiis nati, que sacerdotibus ante prohibitionem ubique licita erant. Et in orientale ecclesia usque hodie eis licere probantur.

Legittime natos debet qui a sacerdotibus etiam cum sacerdotes erant lege naturali gignebantur. Valet hic

textus in tertium scopum quum dicit matrimonia sacerdotibus, ante prohibitionem ubique fuisse licita. Licit ergo fuit ante prohibitionem sacerdoti vel post susceptum ordinem matrimonium contrahere.

Transitio

Et quid quod ad secundum scopum attinet, que iam dicta sunt nimis non contentioso satisfaciant. Restat ut ad tertium uno atque altero testimonio comprobemus.

Scopus tertius

Quod olim licuerit in sacris ordinibus constituto matrimonium contrahere et quod huiusmodi matrimonia divino iuri non repugnent.

Synodus Ancyritana dist. 38. ca.

Diaconi quicumque cum ordinantur, si in ipsa ordinatione protestati sunt dicentes se velle habere uxores, nec posse se continere. hi postea ad nuptias parvenerint, maneant in ministerio, propter ea quod his episcopus licentiam dederit. Quicumque sane tacuerint et susceperint manus impositionem professi continentiam si postea ad nuptias pervenerint a ministerio cessare debebunt.

Duo sunt hic notanda, unum potuisse tum aliquem ad diaconatus ordinem ab episcopo admitti non facientem continentie votum et palam protestantem se uxorem ducturum. Alterum istiusmodi diaconum sic absque voto admissum, et sic palam in admissione protestatum, postea cum de facto

duxisset uxorem, non fuisse a sacro ministerio repellendum.

In decretis Innocentii

Mulierem viduam clericus non ducat uxorem: quia scriptum est Sacerdos Virginem uxorem accipiat, non viduam, non reiectam etc. Unde patet quod nec Innocentii huius tempore, qui eius nomine primus fuit illicitum erat sacerdoti uxorem sibi adiungere, modo ea virgo esset, et non vidua, nec repudium passa et debent quidem ista lectoribus et iudicibus æquioribus esse satis, quum ab adversariis, nec iota unum nec apex unus (qui pro ipsorum sententia faciat) adduci possit, nisi forte ex recentioribus episcoporum Romanorum decretis.

Ascupulantur etiam sententia nostre jurisconsulti omnes fatentes coniugia sacerdotum divino iure non prohiberi, sed mere humano atque positivo. Et abbas ille iurisconsultor ac facile doctissimus non dissimulat melius fore et pro bono ac salute animarum salubrius si ea res uniuscuiusque voluntati relinqueretur, ita ut non volentes continere possint contrahere. Quia experientia inquit, docente, comperimus contrarium affectum sequi ex illa lege continentie quum hodie plerique non vivunt spiritualiter, nec sunt mundi, sed maculentur illicito coitu cum ipsorum gravissimo peccato ubi cum propria uxore esset castitas. Hec panormitanus.

Porro si quis considerat pristinam illam ecclesiam in qua licuerit sacerdotibus ac ceteris ministris matrimonia

contrahere, et eam cum hodiernae ecclesiae statu conterat et componat inveniet illam spontanea continentia monachorum Clericorum, et laicorum quoque hominum in urbibus, in agris, in herenis undique completam, vel certe non nisi castis matrimoniorum complexibus in dulgentem. Hanc vero sub coacto legibus cœlibatu et mentite castitatis pretextu fornicationibus, adulteriis incestibus et sodomiticis inquinamentis fedissime contaminatam.

Ad huc Theologorum scolasticorum precipui et ingeniosissimi quique Thomas Albertus, subtilissimus ille Scotus Bonaventura et relique omnes ius divinum obstare non affarant (sic $\frac{1}{2}$ intra sacros ut vocant, ordines constitutus uxorem ducat sed ecclesiae mandatum quae tales personas illegittimavit. Ut mirari satis nequeamus quid adversariis in mentem venit, uti unc tandem sententiam suam super iure divino tantopere fundare ac stabilire satagant. Postremo qui nobis primum ac secundum scopos concedunt, et in tercio perinde atque ad scopulum aliquem herent, e scripturis locum quempiam pro se proferant oportet, quo doceant, cum licuerit ante susceptos ordines coniubia contrahere et post eos susceptos coniubiales actiones exercere. Cur non post ordinum susceptionem uxorem itidem asciscere per ius divinum non liceat.

Sed cum superius dixerimus scolasticorum theologorum, nec non iurisconsultorum recentiorum precipuos hactenus a nobis stare et nobiscum consentire, quod videlicet hoc continentie et coactum castitatis iugum nequaquam ex iure

divino sacerdotibus iniungantur, age sententias quorundam utriusque ordinis receptissimorum probatissimorumque, quæ in presentia ad manus erant, quam brevissime furi... possit suis ipsorum verbis subiiciamus.

Scholastici generis scriptores theologi pene omnes hanc questionem in scriptis suis moverunt et excusserunt: An ordo sacer impediatur matrimonium contrahendum et dirimat contractum, de quo post multa huic indeque adducta sic tandem pronunciaverunt ut uniuscuiusque verbis sigillatim declarabo.

Albertus

congruit ordinem sacrum impedire matrimonium sed tamen non est necessarium et hoc concedendum unde ordo de se congruitatem hec continentie, sed necessitatem continentie causatur a rationali constitutione ecclesie.

Scotus

non propter votum continentie proprie dictum annexum sacro ordini, nec annexum ex precepto ecclesie precipientis tali non contrahere, sed ex hoc quod ecclesia fecit talem personam simpliciter illegittimam. Orbellensis eadem habet verba.

Thomas

Ordo sacer de sui ratione habet ex quadam congruentia quod matrimonium impedire debeat, quia in sacris ordinibus constituti sacra vasa et sacramenta tractant et ideo decens est ut munditiam corporalem per continentiam servant, sed quod impediatur matrimonium ex constitutione ecclesie, hec.

Idem non est essentialiter annexum debitum continentie ordini sacro sed ex statuto ecclesie, unde videtur, quod hec ecclesiam possit dispensari in voto continentie solemnizato per susceptionem sacri ordinis.

Bonaventura

Sicut ordo monachorum et habitus continentiam habet annexam per illum qui habitum instituit et regulam dedit monachalem, ideo qui profitetur et suscipit habitum debeat emitte votum consequenter. Sic ordo apud latinos ex ecclesiastica institutione habet inseparabiliter continentiam annexam. Et ideo qui illum suscipit spontanea se obligat, ita quod illa obligatio ex statuto paritur et voto. Et sic patet quod impedit, et qualiter impedit.

Durandus

Ordo quidem sacer, habet impedire matrimonium contrahendum, et dirimere contractum ex se quidem dispositive sed ex statuto ecclesie complete quod patet sic minister debet congruere ministerio ad quod ordinatur sed constituti in sacris non congruerent ministerio ad quod ordinantur sed contraherent. Ergo constituti in sacris non debent contrahere minor declaratur quia clerici etc. Et mox huic congruentie superveniens statutum ecclesie fecit clericos in sacris constitutos personas simpliciter illegittimas ad matrimonia contrahendum ita quod si de facto contrahantur dirimi debeant tanquam nulla. et mox. Dum ordinem sacrum suscipiunt, extunc sunt inepti et illegitimi simpliciter

ad contrahendum ex statuto ecclesie. Et mox.

Dicendum quod ordo sacer impedit matrimonium contrahendum et dirimit contractum non ratione ordinis absolute: sed ratione, qua sacer ordo et hoc dispositive: nec ratione voti adiuncti. Quia ex nullo statuto votum potest adiungi aliocui facto, nisi vovens voluntare consentiat etiam si verbo diceret et mente non consentiret. Quia votum est mere voluntatis. Sed impedit complete ex statuto ecclesie facientis personas illegittimas ad contrahendum post quam sacrum ordinem receperunt.

Petrus de Palude

Diaconatus, subdiaconatus, sacerdotium, horum quilibet impedit matrimonium contrahendum et dirimit contractum, non ratione voti annexi, sed statuti ecclesie. Et mox. Apud Grecos. Ordo similiter impedit matrimonium contrahendum et dirimit postea contractum, sed non usum prius contracti, nisi ad horam ministerii, sicut olim tempore legis: nec uxor eius post mortem contrahere debet nec potest.

Richardus de media villa

Ordines sacri impediunt matrimonium contrahendum et dirimunt iam contractum, tum propter ecclesie statutum, tum propter votum continentie annexam.

Nunc aliquot iurisperitorum super eadem re sententias si placet, ipsorum verbis expressas audiamus.

Panormitanus (De clericis coniugatis libro
decretalium 3 cap. cum oti(sic)
in fine.)

Clerici non tenentur continere iure divino: neque continentia est in clericis secularibus. Et mox -. Credo pro bono et salute animarum quod esset salubre statutum, ut volentes continere et magis mereri relinquerentur voluntati eorum, non volentes autem continere possint contrahere. Quia experientia docente, contrarius prorsus effectus sequitur ex illa lege continentie quum hodie non vivant spiritualiter, nec sunt mundi. Sed maculentur illicito coitu cum eorum gravissimo periculo ubi cum propria uxore esset castitas. Unde deberet ecclesia facere sicut bonus medicus, ut si medicina, experientia docente potius officit quam prosit eam tollat, et utinam edem esset in omnibus constitutionibus positus ut saltem obligarent quo ad penam per non quo ad culpam nam ita creverunt statuta positiva et vix reperiantur aliqui qui non corruerint viam suam.

Zabarella

Ecclesia orientalis non admisit votum continentie, et tamen ex hoc non peccat. Idem prohibitio ut constituti in sacris deberent continere dat materiam illaque aundi plures animas et ideo credo, quod sicut ecclesia induxit hoc preceptum continentie, quod quandoque revocabit, et erit conveniens dicto apostoli revocatio: de virginibus preceptum non habeo concilium alias do (?).

Prepositus

Tempore primitive ecclesie licebat presbiteris et sic constitutis in sacris uxores habere dummodo die celebrationis abstinerent ab uxoribus. Et mox. Item Panormitanus ibidem dicit quod continentia non est in clericis secularibus de substantia ordinis ut dicit Innocentius papa nec est de iure divino quia alias Greci peccarent nec excusarent eis consuetudo quod illa non valet contra legem divinam.

Item dicit quod coniugium non repugnat substantiam ordinis sed solo prohibetur coniugium in aliis ex prohibitione ecclesie, idem abbas, supra 2 decretalium prima pars: caput nullus.

Quod inducitur per susceptionem ordinis sacri istud proprie non est votum sed potius tacitus quidam consensus, quo suscipiens ordines sacros alligatur constitutioni ecclesie continentiam iubentis in sacris constitutis.

Innocentius quartus

Matrimonium de iure naturali non impedit quenquam ordinari ad sacros ordines, quia naturali iure potest ordinatus uti matrimonio contracto sicut orientalis ecclesia etiam contrahere possit, nisi constitutiones ecclesie hoc prohibeant.

APPENDIX Nr. V.

THESES REGARDING THE COMMUNION-QUESTION §
by Dr. Johannes Macchabæus

Academic theses set forth by Dr. J. M. on the occasion of promoting Niels Hemmingsen to the degree of Bachelor of Theology at the University of Copenhagen, March 7, 1553. (Translated from the Latin).

1. Although the promise of the remission of sins in the New Testament obviously is gratuitous, nevertheless some victim had to be offered on behalf of the human race to appease God, by the efficacy of which our confidence is fixed in God.
2. And it was necessary, on that account, that the Son of God should be given for us, and that he should die in the nature of our mortality, in order that he might become an acceptable offering on our behalf, outside of which no propitiation could ever be found.
3. And therefore the promise of reconciliation is gratuitous, and yet, in order that it may be certain for us, it has to rest upon the acceptable sacrifice of a mediator.
4. Though this Gospel of Grace is declared to be free (gratuitous), nevertheless it requires, as well, repentance and earnest faith by all, and it appears one and the same at all times, that by which the elect of God from beginning to the end of time through faith are constantly known to obtain salvation.
5. Of a truth, since that surpasses all the apprehension and power of the mind, and since testimonies and signs have been divinely added which were trustworthy from the very beginning, its heavenly authority has been proved and rendered acceptable.
6. And to this end especially, just as it is certain that the sacraments of the Old Testament have been given in times past, so also the signs and symbols of the New Testament, every one of them, have been established from Heaven, which is beyond doubt.
7. And, among all other things, this most especially, the sacred feast of Christ, in which, when the elements have been employed with due observance, the reality, according to the words of institution of our Lord, of his body and most holy blood is assuredly present, and is believed to be shared in reality by those partaking of it.

§ Themata de Sacra Coena, de quibus cras publice disputabitur præsidente Joh. Macchabæo, Ao. 1553". Cited in full in the original Latin version in Rördam, op. cit., Vol. IV pp. 57-60. Nr. 37.

8. These words of our Lord are not to be evaded by any resort to figures of speech, nor must they be corrupted by the fiction of transubstantiation which has been devised falsely, but they must be received by faithful persons in their exact and genuine meaning and intention, as it is clear they have been given by the Lord.
9. Nevertheless, in no way do we believe or recognize the doctrine of transubstantiation whether (it means) a physical change of our Lord's Body, or receiving it in or with the elements, or any such as the Papists devise.
10. For the constant course of venerable opinions and the clearness (of the words themselves) do not admit either a metaphorical use of language nor that falsehood of transubstantiation; the title of the body and blood of the Lord is assigned in Scripture so constantly and clearly to this mystery of the bread and wine.
11. The opinions of all the other orthodox fathers (about alteration and change in the sacred feast) must, correctly understood, in no wise add anything concerning its unknown transubstantiation, but concerning the efficacy of divine power, which must be regarded with wonder, by which the elements, when the words have been given, become a sacrament.
12. It is, it is true, made efficacious by no worth or excellence of ordination, anointing or formula of the officiating priest, but solely by the almighty will and command of the Lord Jesus Christ.
13. The Lord, moreover, wished the symbols of his own body and blood to be distinct, in order that the remembrance of his crucified body and shed blood might be made separately, each part conveying its own blessing.
14. And, indeed, these are not meaningless nor empty signs of what is not there, on the contrary, they contain the things, each in its own way, which they manifest and which the words of our Lord promise without any unnecessary figurative language.
15. For the elect are nurtured to eternal life neither by meaningless symbols nor by empty shades of truth, but by the true, divine and saving realities contained in this "mystery", which are certainly not displayed ~~through~~ the element itself (lit.: as of the body), but they are, according to the command of the Lord, for the nurture and feeding of the spirits of the believers, and last with the elements as long as the "sacrament" remains in its right (true) use.

16. Besides, Christ instituted his Common Meal for all such people as are of mature age, wherefore it is in no wise permissible for the officiating priests to prepare it for themselves only.
17. The added promise of remission of sins, which is of the New Testament alone, establishes the fact, that in the New Testament the Cup also belongs to all believers without distinction.
18. For each kind, as people speak of them, is needed in the right use of the sacrament, whenever it is administered in its completeness, whence the abuse to administer one heedlessly without the other must be an act of sacrilege, which has been decreed by the council of Constantine as impiety (lack of respect for God, or downright wickedness).
19. Moreover, the sole (right) use of the Lord's Supper, the chief act of observance in our religion, the observation of which is (definitely) fixed by the words of the Evangelists and Saint Paul, is a commemoration of the death of our Lord.
20. In the same manner, as often as either the chief institution is not kept pure or the Lord's Supper is diverted into another use than its appointed purpose (as in reservations, the carrying around of it, worship of it, processions, and for public peacemakings, as is often done), then the sacrament is not present in such abuses.
21. Therefore, although the reported acts of sacrilege of the institution of the Lord's Supper practiced by the Papists may constitute acts of blasphemy, the reality must not be believed to be present in them: neither because of their sacramental character, nor because of the realities which are represented.
22. Finally, this sacrament, although it is a pledge and seal of divine promise, which God bestows on the believers, it in no way allows any means of expiatory sacrifice.
23. Thus it is clearly established, that neither the attainment of eternal life, nor satisfaction on behalf of our own sins or those of others, nor judgement on the living or the dead, is communicable by virtue of the mere taking of the sacrament (ex vi operis operati) through the offices of the priest.
24. Nevertheless, in the right use of the Lord's Supper we ought to add prayers of thanksgiving and acts of praise and gratitude for the gifts bestowed and remembered in the feast, whence the whole celebration has obtained the name of eucharist (thanksgiving).

APPENDIX NR. VI.

A SERMON BY DR. JOHANNES MACCHABÆUS:

Oratio in dictum Pauli ad Roman. XIV. Anno 1553, d. 7. Martii.

Translated from the original Latin version-(See P.323 (e)).

"Whatsoever is not of Faith is Sin"

Rom. XIV, (23).

"Since the occasion of our coming together at this time⁽¹⁾ demands that something be said about sacred matters, I shall speak briefly about that sentence, applicable to all men, which St. Paul, in the Epistle to the Romans, Chapter 14, ⁽²⁾ places like a permanent measuring line on Christian doctrine: "Whatsoever is not of faith, is Sin". I shall try, with God's help, to expound the truth contained in these words, although everywhere sound doctrine is judged by foolish smatterers like the Stoic paradox, and though it is changed by them, by glosses which have been added, from the true and genuine meaning of the blessed apostle.

In the first place, I shall speak about all these acts of men which are done outside the faith, because (the) sins will indicate clearly the position and condition of unbelievers; that is, of all those, who live without the spirit of, and faith in, Christ. Then, (secondly), I shall show what all the virtues, talents and deeds, although honest in their appearance, are worth, in the sight of God, and how they must be thought of by the judgement of Holy Scripture.

Out of the huge seedplot of the human race, which God in the beginning, with admirable wisdom, established for this purpose, and increased through the long passage of the years, that it might be his image and a temple in which the highest glory of the eternal God might be truly recognised, and that through all eternity he might be honoured with acts of piety and with acts of worship worthy of his deity and with the free services of souls, - scarcely any portion at all, and exceedingly small, - ah, the grief of it! - answer, to this dignity and rank and fulfills the desire of the creator. None at all, except a very small part of believers and a few of the elect, which God by his wonderful and ineffable grace chooses out from the doomed offscourings through his only begotten Son, to be preserved by his Spirit and Word from Heaven. The whole remaining multitude, corrupted by the poisonous contagion of nature and through Satan, the most dangerous enemy of God and men, terribly maddened, turns aside from the right way, from the heavenly purpose and from its own goal in which the highest good and supreme happiness have been placed before it, turns aside not unwillingly, and rushes down headlong into perdition and into eternal

(1) At Niels Hemmingsen's promotion to the degree of Bachelor of Theology.

(2) Rom. 14, 23.

destruction.

Obviously, it is a very small part of men who, born again by the spirit of God into sonship and (into) the inheritance of grace, hold fast to the faith, and practice true virtue, and keep themselves unspotted from the iniquities of the world, and who show themselves in truth worthy of sanctification by the blood of the Son of God: Very small, I say, on the witness of Christ, is his flock; although it may seem big and glorious to another person if it is compared with the remaining multitude of evil doers, in which countless numbers are found, endowed with no perception of, or interest in, God, vexed by fits of Epicurean madness, foreign to all striving after piety and uprightness, submerged in every kind of wretched and filthy crime, and who lead an unhappy life not only like senseless beasts of burden but in many ways worse which must be changed by eternal death.

The majority, it is true, are endowed with some notion of God and have been initiated by external sacraments, but they deny God basely with their deeds, by every kind of dishonesty and (by) impurity of habits and life, - God whom they confess with their lips. The rest cover the hidden wretchedness and impiety of their hearts by vain deceits, by hypocritical pretences and by lying colors, in that they are twice wicked: because they cover up their impiety and depravity with a deceitful semblance of piety, and assume holiness.

Now, all these people, although different in other respects, nevertheless are alike in this that they are linked together by one chain of blindness, and in that they doggedly resist and flee from the saving light which has been disclosed from heaven. This they do with a sinful and rebellious mind, and they rush and hasten hopelessly through the open road of perdition into eternal darkness and unending exile (from God). Since admirers of crooked human justice are not wanting, who boast that they employ it, praise immoderately acts of villany and extol them with praises, while they in a marvellous manner tone down the absoluteness of justice by assigning to these praise - - - - - (text corrupt) - - - Christian justice, which is from God, they conceal, and culpably twist and destroy the praise and benefit which is due to the majority of people.

Therefore we, secondly, show forth clearly and easily that all this show is useless and vain boasting, and that in God's judgement it avails nothing; that it proceeds from the original condition of the corrupt nature and from the very corrupt disposition of the mind .

First of all, we bring forth for our consideration the reprobate crowd along with their sentences and proper colors, which are present by nature and to which references have been made throughout Scripture. We assert principally and consistently the following: Whether it is from any worth or excellence, or from these gifts and graces which have been given them and which are in them by nature, they are to be considered as men exiled from, and hostile to, Christ; as from the very top of their head to the very sole of their foot, no spark or glimmer of goodness from the highest rank of reason to the lowest sense, may be found in them which can be acceptable or pleasing to God, their creator.

At all events, there does remain in all men, and there is

dominant in the unbelievers, an original corruption (of nature), which must not be thought of in itself, or regarded alone as, something evil. Nevertheless that hateful plague includes both a dark cloud over the mind and an opposition on the part of a distorted will towards God and a haughty independence of the heart against the law and will of God. As a result of this, it is true, persistent hesitations, errors, blasphemy and moods of distrust arise in the mind, and a false security in the will, hatred and neglect of God, a wrongful love and admiration of oneself and a tremendous confusion and a shapeless mass of exceedingly corrupt feelings, many movements and various violent attacks rush at, and seize hold of, the whole man, in opposition to the law of God.

Thus says Jeremiah⁽³⁾: "The heart of man is depraved and deceitful, full of suffering, inscrutable and known to God alone". Jeremiah holds that the heart is depraved and perverse, and points out that it is turned away from its highest good, and is corrupted; that it rejects the light from heaven and encompasses hesitations; that it casts aside the fear of, trust in, and love of God; that it refuses to recognize the wrath and pity belonging to the word of God; that it loves its own self and created things more than God; that it rejoices and puts confidence in its own wisdom; that it imagines blasphemous notions of God, cherishes ambition and love of vengeance; that it lives on the fires of lusts and such like attacks which lead men away from the law of God. In the second place, Jeremiah affirms that it (the heart of man) is corrupt and wretched; he points out that it is deprived of grace and consolation of God, that it is bowed down under anguish of conscience, despair and eternal sorrow, from which there is no relief, and surrounded with an infinite number of other sins and punishments. The size of these can not be sufficiently perceived by us, nor by any creature.

St. Paul agrees with Jeremiah, that human nature should be thus defined. He says that the faculties, or dispositions, of the flesh, that is: of the unregenerate creature, are hostile to God; for "it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can it be"⁽⁴⁾ St. Paul plainly and clearly states: that there is in man a certain element of evil, which has been condemned, is under sentence and must be hated. It is alien to God, utterly abhorred by, and under the wrath of, God, and - it is a dreadful thing to say - it is thoroughly opposed to God, so that it can neither be brought under his authority, nor made to obey him. It is something of such a kind that God hates it and condemns it above all else. Although, in the case of believers and the elect of God, this element of evil is put to death little by little and will be buried with Christ, nevertheless it lives, flourishes and reigns in all other men throughout the world, actively opposing the soul and assuredly working on to death.

With the same kind of utterance Moses, David and the whole choir of saints set forth the work and excellence of the sons of Adam, to the effect that the whole make-up of the human heart is without a doubt evil from its very beginnings; that vain opinions are present

(3) Jer. 17, 9-10, which says: "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can know it? I the Lord, search the heart.--".

(4) Rom. 8, 7.

in men's hearts, nay rather, that men are not fit to think any good thing, because they neither fear God, nor understand him, nor feel their need of him, nor care for him, in short, because they are carnal. by which adjective (carnal) it is meant, that he (man) is able to think out only something bad, base or abominable. In brief phrase Christ portrays the whole impurity of mortal nature, when he says: (5)

"That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the spirit is spirit". The Lord compares flesh with spirit, and leaves nothing in between them which is not altogether carnal in man and savors of being carnal; such is not spiritual. But the spiritual man obtains nothing unless he is born again through the grace of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, the flesh is, and remains, and can prepare nothing for itself which a man has apart from the creature, - when the grace of God has been set aside. Although he has been freed from the bonds of the flesh, it is to be expected that he is a sinner.

The pride of man, moreover, is cast down, - and no matter how many of offspring there are of the human race, they are scorned as foolish, worthless, mad and perverse - by a missile of the Holy Spirit through the Psalm-Writer, saying (6) "Men of low degree are vanity, and men of high degree are a lie: to be laid in the balance, they are altogether lighter than vanity". These are the wonderful sayings regarding our nature, by which it is depraved and made ugly, as though it were turned aside, so as to speak, from its own foundation.

Let them come now and weigh these matters, those who boast of the excellence of natural man and the worth of their own virtues and deeds, and let them cease from provoking God and contradicting nature, in offering to the author of things false praises, and from bringing shame upon themselves! Moreover, though such vigorous enemies of grace, as the ancient Pelagians, contend that certain men have stood out pre-eminent in every century, who, although having no share in the grace of God, during their whole life were earnest pursuers of virtue, as if led on by nature. Wherefore, they (the enemies of grace) say that, lest we should be of the opinion that the excellent nature of man is altogether depraved, such men admonish us by their example, that by a certain instinct they not only outstripped the notorious evil doers, but even were zealous followers after virtue and honesty throughout the whole tenor of their lives.

To that contention I answer, in the first place: Although in man's nature, as it now is, there is left a sense of justice and appreciation of things, which are subject to reason and sense, election remains for all of that, free of external works of affable and upright men; wherefore the human will is able to do the external works of the law in some way or other without renewal and to perform the duties of virtue; which belong to the discipline of life; which God requires from all men, even from the unregenerate; and he is accustomed to punish violation by just penalties, which the punishments of oppressors, homicides and those guilty of incest abundantly prove. It is for this reason, as St. Paul says, that the law is imposed upon the unjust; that is, it is for correcting the unregenerate and punishing the impenitent.

(5) John, 3, 6.

(6) Ps. 62, 9.

Wherefore we detract from merit the external element of discipline of the law and the splendor of the civic righteousness of those heroic men, who have striven to live a life of virtue; while we detract in no way from the absolute purity and holiness accepted from God, which properly belongs to grace, relying on the authority of the Son of God, who says:⁽⁷⁾ "As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself alone, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me". - "He that abides in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing.". Likewise the blessed Apostle (Paul) denies that we are able to think out anything by ourselves alone, but affirms that all our fitness comes from God, - as he says also - ⁽⁸⁾ "which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure".

But whoever are without faith and estranged from the grace of regeneration, are overwhelmed in the filth of natural sinfulness, they must not be thought to be in Christ, or to remain, or have any part, in the gifts of grace. Such people ought therefore not to be counted worthy of any praise for true virtue or merit; because, when their hearts have turned away from God and have taken hold on, and are in the possession of, that serpent of poison, and are poisoned by its fatal injection, all virtues, all gifts and merits, how beautiful and good though they seem, become terribly impure and worthless, so that they cannot please the creator, God.

We do not hold, however, that the sins of unbelievers are equally great. No, on the contrary, we contend that Nero, Caligula, Epicurius, and like blemishes and sources of poison on humanity, sinned far more dreadfully and deserve more seriously the wrath of God than do Cato, Cicero and Seneca; Although both groups are subject to the eternal wrath of God. But they will not experience it the same. Wherefore it is said in the revelation⁽⁹⁾ concerning the wicked mob which go under the name of Babylon: "How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her". This is also confirmed by the Lord Christ, when he assures us that the people of Tyrus, Sidon, Sodom and Gomorrah shall fare better in the day of judgement, than the dishonest, hardened Jews with their decried subtilty.

Let us, in regard to this, not deny that excellent virtues and deeds of greatness, as seen among unbelievers, and which other virtues, or rather illustrations of virtue, it might be, are of God. While we at the same time must point out the truth, as also Augustine held it, that all men, who are foreign to the true faith in the one true God (or: towards the holiness of the one true God), in the same degree as they seem worthy of praise because of the virtue which they profess, are not only unworthy of any reward, but rather worthy of punishment; because they bring disgrace to the pure gifts of God by the ungodliness and impurity of their hearts. To impure and unbelievers nothing is pure, because their minds and consciences are soiled with impurity. Although God condescends to employ that kind of people as tools and means of keeping the civic life of humanity in justice, temperance, friendliness,

(7) John. 15, 4-5.

(8) Philip. 2, 13.

(9) Rev. 18, 7.

control of passions, courage, nobleness and wisdom, they use only very poorly his good gifts and works, and picture them falsely, because they do not employ them in earnest zeal for the praise of God, or in eagerness for that which is good. But prompted partly by their vanity, partly by love of self, or by every wicked and evil passion, they refrain perhaps from wrong action, or they show, and give appearance of, a superficial goodness.

Therefore, as all things in them are corrupt from the impurity of their hearts, as from a poisoning, contagious disease, however much they shine in the eyes of men, they shall, when measured by the judgement of the spirit, (that is, all things in them) no more be counted among virtues and really good works, than the passions which, on account of their relationship with, and likeness to, virtues, generally place themselves before the eyes of men.

When it, furthermore, generally is an acknowledged fact that definitions of what is right, are infinite, as all and everything wish the approval of God, then it is also taken for granted that all that which, however, aims elsewhere, has a right to take name of what is right and good. Though, as the virtues and merits of unbelievers do not regard the purpose and aim, which the wisdom of God decrees, it is without a doubt that all that which they do on account of one or another wrong purpose, is sin, however good, on account of its motive to serve, it may seem. This is also the view of the Lord himself, when he rejects and regards as nothing the deeds of the scribes and pharisees, which by no means were evil if their purpose was to be seen of men. If it, furthermore, is true, as it doubtless is certain that it is perfectly true, what John says:⁽¹⁰⁾ that no participation may be had in the life and the light outside the Son of God, who alone is life, light and truth, then all who have no part in Christ, whatever their mode of life, whatever they do and work, wander rapidly to eternal loss, the confusion of eternal death and doom.

Therefore the blessed Augustine cleverly compares such a man, his interests and works, with the race of one who is blindfolded. The quicker and more zealous he runs outside the course, the farther he gets from the goal, while he at the same time becomes unhappier over the additional work. Wherefore he (Augustine) concludes that it is better to crawl and limp on the way than to run quickly outside the way. But all those who are strangers to faith in Christ and his grace are not on the way of life. All such, therefore, chase about wildly anywhere, in heaven and on earth, and race quickly into eternal loss.

Furthermore, the Gospel holds ⁽¹¹⁾ that corrupt trees cannot bear good fruits. But it is a certain fact that all, who are not partakers in the sanctification of Christ, are, and remain, corrupt and useless trees. They cannot bring forth good and choice fruits which also are desirable and delicious for the tastes and tongues of men, or any one else; and surely not good ones. Thus, whatever, a man himself thinks,

(10) Probably a free rendering of John 14, 6: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life: No one cometh unto the Father, but by me".

(11) Ref. to Matth. 7, 18: "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit".

considers, strives for or performs, until he by faith and the grace of the mediator is reconciled to God, all such will in the judgement of God, so far as righteousness is concerned, be counted damnable, without value or significance.

This is, finally, confirmed by the other Apostle, saying⁽¹²⁾ "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God", which is to say: Man cannot from perception, reason or will, free deliberation and all other natural talents, outside the Holy Spirit, judge rightly concerning God and divine things; nor is he able to understand what is well pleasing or lovely unto God. Elsewhere the same is confirmed:⁽¹³⁾ "Without faith it is impossible to please God".

From these things we are able with certainty to know what the Apostle intends to say with his sentence (the text of the sermon): If any work which for one purpose or another is considered beautiful and wonderful, is not founded on the right conviction, a ~~sure~~ and convincing faith it is with God counted as sin, - God, who cares not for external show and splendor: Nay, he looks to the obedience and purity of the heart, which possesses, and is justified by, the true faith; as Jeremiah says:⁽¹⁴⁾ "Lord, Thine eyes look unto faith". Only on that any work may be evaluated. Therefore, what lacks faith is unlovely and abominable to God. Because anxiety and wavering and hesitancy of doubting souls do not permit all works of men to please God, as it really also spoils beautiful works. As the pious soul nowhere is able to find rest, except in the divine word, all composed artistic worship of God and all works conceived in the minds of men vanish like smoke.

When all of that which is not of faith is condemned, it follows that all of that which is not based upon and sanctioned by the word of God likewise is rejected. Because that which deviates from the divine word and is found to be in no accordance with it, cannot be in accordance with faith. Wherefore, anything which has been caused and appointed by the episcopal authorities outside the word of God - such as the offering of the mass, many kinds of images, indulgences to be sold, invocation of the dead, monasticism, etc. - is sin, and abominable to God; because such issue not from faith.

Us, finally, whom the abundant grace of God graciously has freed from the general chaos of the judgement and by his blessed command called, not according to our merits, but in accordance with his own plan and purpose, not because of righteous works which we had done, but according to his own mercy, - he has saved and born again in Christ, that we might be the new creation, grounded in him for good works, for which he before has endowed us in order that we might walk in them.

We ought to be obedient and grateful towards God himself who

(12) 1. Cor. 2, 14.

(13) Hebr. 11, 6.

(14) Probably reference to Jer. 5, 3: "O Lord, are not thine eyes upon truth"?

in a wonderful manner has kept us; but far more wonderfully has he bought us by his Son and given us the eternal salvation, in order that we in all and through all with all zeal of soul and all our strength and eagerness through the whole course of life may further the praise of God".

APPENDIX Nr. VII.

A PRAYER OF DR. JOHANNES MACCHABEUS:

At Niels Hemmingsen's promotion to Bach. of Theol., March 7, 1553.
Translated from the original Latin version. Ref. p. 323.(e).

"O, thou who art the Creator and preserver of all things, out of our religious devotion we call upon Thee, the living, true, eternal and omnipotent God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, along with Thy eternal Son and Holy Spirit, - Thou who out of Thy great compassion with us, mortals living in darkness, hast revealed Thyself. We bring to Thee our thanks with all our loyalty and unfeigned praise; because Thou hast illumined us with the saving light of Thy heavenly Gospel, Thou hast opened our hearts and our eyes, when we were being overwhelmed by the common blindness of mortals, and Thou hast marvellously brought us into this fold, in which the Sacred Scriptures of the Prophets and the Apostles are set forth, unadulterated, without profane and wicked errors:

We pray in the name of Thy eternal Son, whom Thou hast appointed priest and eternal propitiation, that Thou wilt preserve this flock of teachers and students in the true zeal for Thy saving light, that Thou wilt rule over them and guard them continually, and that Thou wilt ever support their attempts and toils and studies, in order that they may be helpful to us and to the rest of the Church; and that Thou, by Thy Word and Spirit, wilt choose out for Thyself everywhere, throughout the whole world and from amongst us, a Church in which Thou wilt be glorified; and that Thou wilt make us, by Thy grace, vessels of tenderness for Thy glory, useful and fitting for Thine honour. And that Thou wilt not let us be rejected or cast off among the vessels of Thy wrath, fit only for destruction, such as were Pharaoh, Nero, Judas, Arius, and Julian who were blinded by their own sin and cast off, since they were exceedingly loathsome blemishes and pestilences of the human race, and despisers and enemies of Thy grace.

And mayest Thou also preserve these kingdoms, which are places of refuge for Thy Church and the honest study of learning; and wilt Thou not permit the name and honour of Thy son to be blotted out or shaken by the world, by the craftiness and cunning of our dangerous enemy. But wilt Thou preserve and guard to the end these seedbeds - which Thou hast prepared by Thy grace - of the Church and to the honour of the Gospel, and such fragments of piety as make for the glory of Thy name. May Thy holy name be glorified in the world and Thine blessed kingdom increase among all peoples, even to the end of the world. Amen!"

- - -

APPENDIX Nr. VIII.

LETTER OF MACHABÆUS TO A FRIEND. MAY 31, 1546. §
In the original Latin version.

Salutem igitur (sic) omni cum observantia communi meo et uxore nomine H. Tuæ, honestissimæ sociæ et suavissimo Theophilo quam amantissime et reuerenter offero: Ac nos cum nostro filiolo atque familia incolumes valere indico, Deum Opt. Max. orantes, ut eadem et meliora de te tuisque omnibus nos semper audire faxit. Nostræ autem vitæ conditio nec nimium superba est, nec extreme misera, sed quadam mediocritate tolerabilis. Status vero Ecclesiarum et Scholæ apud nos utcunque (Deo beneficio) floret, quæ præsentim lator literarum fideliter et copiose exponere tuæ præstantiæ poterit omnia, quem ego et pro meo officio et pro illius desiderio debeo tanquam virum honestissimum diligenter et impense commendare. - -

Reverendissimo Domino Episcopo ac suæ honestissimæ conjugii, item Tuæ etc. venerabili costæ, item Theophilo Georgii, ac Pastori Slesvicensi Domino Joanni Sartorio (?) cum suis omnibus, ut tuam Deus præstantiam incolumem quam diutissime et quam felicissime valentem conservet, oro. Haffniæ pridie (Kal.) Junii 1546.

Tuæ præstantiæ

Johannes Machabæus D.

§ Cited from Rördam, op cit., Vol. IV, p. 36.
Nr. 22. See translation in English on page 189 of this treatise, where additional references may be found in note.

APPENDIX Nr. IX.

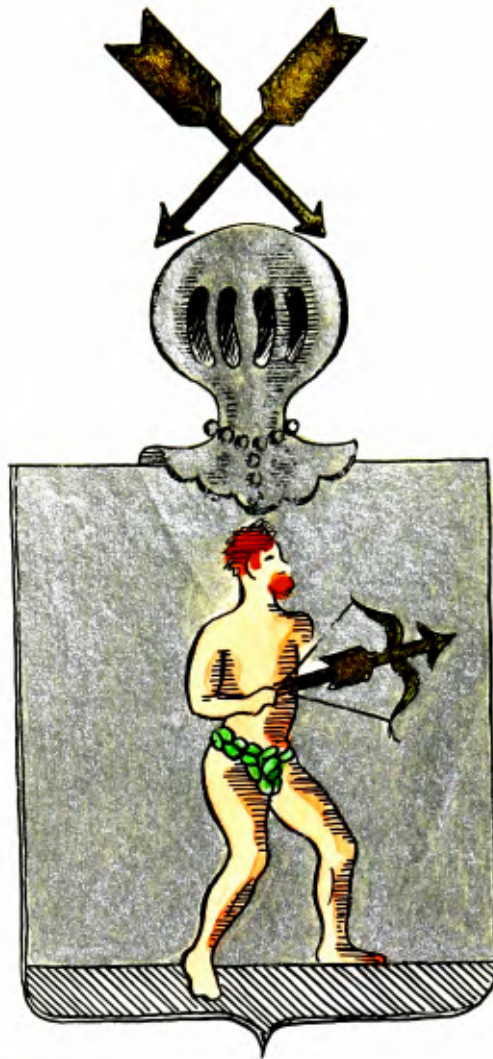
A LETTER⁽¹⁾ FROM MACCHABÆUS TO KING CHRISTIAN III,
in the Lower-Saxon dialect.
January 4, 1552.

Dorchluchtigste, Grotmechtigste Forste und Here,
Allergnedigster Koningk.

Juwer Kon. Mai. Breve ahm negesten tho dem Erwerdigen
Superattendentem aver Selandt und my yhm November
gesendt, hebbe ick mith geborliker Underdenichheit und
Erbedinge gelesen, vornamen und wollvorstaen. Und hebbe
my Juwer Kon. Mai. Forderinge nhathokamende nha mynen
Vormögen vorgenamen, und so langte idt myne Gesundtheit
gestediget, hebbe ick sampt dem vorgedachten Superat-
tendente Juwer Kon. Mai. Befel genock tho donde ange-
fangen. Byn dennoch nha Vorlophenheit der Tydt unde
des vorgenamen Arbeides seer swack und krencklich ge-
worden, dardorch ich vorhindert Den Arbeit nicht hebbe
endigen konnen. Wente ick byn ihn sho sware Wedage
des Hövedes und ihn grote Swackheit des gantzen Lyves
gefallen, dath ick Juwer Kon. Mai. Bevelinge ernstlick
niëkt hebbe nhadencken konnen. Den so vaken ick my
men eyn Stunde tho schryven edder sunst van jennygem
Dinge scharp tho dencken understanden hebbe, alsobalde
byn ick dorch de Wedage unde Swackheit overweldiget
und vorhindert worden. Wilkor myne Krencklichkeit
noch hütiges Dages (wowol ick der arsten genoch ge-
brucke) warende is. Der Orsaken halven ick myne
Menyngte van dem oversendeden Boekesten vorhengten
und upthostutten genoediget byn. Van wilkoren ick
dennoch tho syner Tydt (wo my Godt Gnade und Gesuntheit
vorlenen wert) mine Achtinge und Ordel Juwer Kon.
Mai. nya mynem moegliken Ulith tho erkennende geven
wyll. Middeler tydt is myn underdenyge Bede dorch
Christum, Juwe Kon. Mai. wyl diize myne warafftige und
nöddige Entschüldinge in Gnaden erkennen, und nha
gewöhnliker Gnade tho dem besten wenden. Christus
Jesus de enyge Verløser des mynsckliken Geschlechtes
wyll J. Kon. M. sampt der Dorchluchtigsten Koniginnen,
myner gnedigen Fruwen, dem Koninglickem Geslechte
und gentzem hoffgesynde, des geliken de christlike
Karke, de Gemente, Ricke und Landtschaft in Kon. Mai.
Regeringe von Gode bevalen, dyth iegenwardige Jar
(Wylkor gelückselich angefangen) und lange vorden
regeren, vordedyngen und van aller Wederwerdickeit
bewaren. Datum Koppenhagen den verden Januarii.

Juwer Kon. Maiestat
underdeniger, stetmylliger Dener
Johannes Machabaeus

(1) From Gelehrter Männer Brieffe, op. cit., Vol. III,
pp. 133-135. Translated on pp. 229-230 of this
treatise.



Macchabæus

The background of the coat of arms is silver. On it is designed a savage man with a bent golden bow on which a golden arrow is placed. On the helmet, on the top of the coat of arms, two golden arrows are crossed with their points downwards.

Lexicon over adelige Familier i Danmark, Norge og Hertugdømmerne, København, Vol. 2-p. 5.

An illustration of the coat of arms appears in the same volume table 1, number 5

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